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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR, CANADA

SENATOR THE HON. G. D. ROBERTSON,
MINISTER OF LABOUR

H. H. WARD,
DEPUTY MINISTER

**The Employment of Children
and Young Persons in
Canada**



DECEMBER, 1930

OTTAWA
F. A. ACLAND
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
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THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS IN CANADA

INTRODUCTORY

Considerable information regarding the employment of children and young persons in Canada is rendered available for the first time by the publication in 1929 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics of the volume on Occupations from the census of 1921.¹ The census figures for 1891, 1901 and 1911 include the numbers of those employed from 10 to 15 years of age or from 10 to 14 years of age. The next age-group in the 1911 census includes persons up to 24 years of age. In the earlier censuses, occupation statistics were given only for those under 16 and those over that age. References to juvenile employment in Canada and recommendations for its regulation have been made from time to time by Dominion and Provincial authorities, but no comprehensive study of the subject appears to have been made.² The Department of Labour has received numerous requests for information as to the extent of the employment of children and young persons in Canada and there has been, also, a great demand for information as to the laws governing such employment. The work of the International Labour Conference under the League of Nations has increased the need for information of this kind from all countries. The present publication is designed, therefore, to furnish information as to the extent of the employment of children and young persons in all the provinces of Canada and the laws regulating such employment.

The material has been arranged in three parts. Part I is devoted mainly to the collection and analysis of the statistical information contained in the report of the census of 1921. A slight sketch of the different economic divisions of the country is given and an analysis of the changes in juvenile employment through the years marked by the censuses of 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921. Part II deals with accidents to young persons in the course of their employment. Part III shows in tabular form the provisions of the existing provincial laws requiring school attendance and establishing minimum ages and maximum hours for the employment of children in mines, factories, shops, streets and places of amusement. There are also tables setting out briefly the chronological development of this legislation. These tables are supplemented by a historical survey of the laws governing juvenile employment in Canada. Such an account is deemed necessary to an understanding of the present legislation and, together with quotations from various commissions recommending or reporting on the administration of certain laws, is a necessary part of a bulletin of information on juvenile employment in Canada. The first two sections of Part III cover the legislation on apprenticeship and technical education and the laws requiring school attendance. Then follow sections on the laws regulating labour conditions in certain classes of employment—mines, factories, shops, and streets and places of amusement. A final section deals with the laws governing dangerous occupations and the night work of young persons. In an appendix are quoted some extracts from the report of a comparative study of children at work and in school in Cincinnati. This study extended over a five-year period and covered as far as possible the same children from year to year. It is of particular interest in a consideration of the problems of juvenile education and employment.

The unsatisfactory nature of the information as to the numbers employed in Canada and the conditions of employment and the fragmentary character of the statistics on industrial accidents to juveniles are noted in the introductory paragraphs of Parts I and II. Only special investigations in particular localities can furnish adequate data for studies of juvenile employment in its various phases. The purpose of this publication is merely to collect and analyse the information already published.³ Where authoritative comment is available as to the desirability or otherwise of certain kinds of employment for juveniles some extracts have been quoted. The statements may not apply exactly to Canadian conditions or to conditions in all the provinces even if they apply to conditions in some. These quotations are

¹Census, 1921. Vol. IV and Monograph, Children in Gainful Occupations.

²Ontario Legislative Assembly of 1907 appointed Com. on Child Labour which is reported at the same session. Journals, 1907, App. 1.

³In a few cases, the provincial authorities, e.g. Workmen's Compensation Boards, have furnished additional information from their records.

given only to indicate the nature of the occupations or the industries referred to as they have appeared to certain investigators. The fact that almost one-third of the gainfully occupied persons in Canada are employed in agriculture shows the relative importance to the country as a whole of regulating the conditions of employment on farms so that young workers may not be deterred from remaining on farms and that as adults they may become successful farmers. The small commercial and industrial population in Canada as compared with countries with a longer industrial history makes the problem of juvenile employment in commerce and industry in Canada less extensive and less apparent but it also makes possible its regulation at an earlier stage based on the experience of the older countries.

The terms "child" and "young person" for the purpose of labour law vary in meaning from one province to another and from one place of employment to another according to the ages under which employment is prohibited or regulated in some manner. In this publication, a "child" is a boy or girl under 14 years of age, a "young person" is over 14 and under 18 and the word "juvenile" is used loosely to denote any person under 18 years of age. Almost all the persons under 18 years who are employed are more than ten years old.

In order to make each section as complete as possible a certain amount of repetition in the information given has been found to be necessary. Where repetition would run to any considerable length, references are made to other sections.

Juvenile employment may be considered in three age periods, that of children under 14, the great majority of whom are attending school; that of juveniles 14 and 15 years of age whom economic pressure, custom or personal inclination causes to take up some gainful occupation, and that of those over 16 and under 18, many of whom are engaged in more or less permanent work but whose immaturity and lack of physical endurance, like that of the younger group, make them peculiarly liable to the accidents, diseases and moral hazards arising from employment. There is no definite dividing line between these groups. In some places 14 years is the limit for compulsory school attendance but there is a tendency to raise the age to 15 or 16 and even to 18 where the education provided for the older juveniles is of a vocational character. There is, however, fairly general agreement that full-time work for wages of children under 14 should be prohibited altogether and that the employment of juveniles over 14 and under 16 should be permitted only under conditions safeguarding physical and mental development and providing training for skilled or semi-skilled jobs. Experience with the effects of modern industry has led many to the opinion that for those over 16 and under 18 certain safeguards are also desirable.

"It is because of these rapid growth changes that it is necessary to insist that, while it is permissible and in some instances even desirable for certain adolescents to begin their working life, such activities should be conducted under strict supervision and there should be a very definitely planned program for determining (1) whether a given adolescent should enter industrial life at all; and (2) if he is allowed to go to work, that his employment shall be of such a nature that no physical, mental, or social hazard shall be involved or allowed to enter during the period of controlled employment."¹

Hardly less important than the protection of the health of the juvenile worker is the provision for his training, whether in school or workshop. The history of many untrained boys who leave school at the earliest opportunity has been thus outlined:—

"For the average child of from fourteen to sixteen, school life is over and industrial life has begun. Whatever his reason for leaving school, whether poverty or apathy towards the school itself, he has little idea what particular trade he wishes to follow. He does not know which occupations want boys nor which will afford him a future. He takes the first job that he finds, an unskilled job; works for some time, perhaps a few weeks, or a few months; finds that there is no opportunity to learn the trade, that the pay involved does not loom as large as it did at first; he is tired by the monotony of the task, and quits. He runs about the streets and casually looks for another position. After a while he finds it. It is another unskilled job. He works a short time at this task, and then leaves it as he did the first, and so he drifts from job to job, from industry to industry, still unskilled, and exposed to all the social and industrial evils which threaten adolescence. Once grown, he is crowded out of his job forever by another younger crop of workers, and finds himself one of the class of the permanently unskilled, with the attendant low wages and unemployment of his class. He had nothing to sell but his youth; he sold it, and received nothing in return."²

¹Hugh Grant Rowell, M.D., Department of Health Education, Teachers' College Columbia University, Preserving Promoting the Health of Working Children. The American Child, January, 1929.

²Paul H. Douglas, American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education, New York, 1921, p. 85.

Studies of juvenile employment in other countries reveal that a large proportion of the children, who drop out of school to go to work as early as the law permits, are above the normal of age for their grades. This retardation may be due to a variety of causes among which are mental deficiency in relation to the school curriculum and irregular attendance caused by ill-health or the necessity, real or imaginary, for help at home, or lack of interest on the part of parents or pupils. To whatever cause retardation in school grade may be due, it is likely to discourage the child and render school life irksome. Consequently, when a job offers and the law allows, he leaves school whether or not he has advanced to the limit of his abilities or educational opportunities.

"The factor which stands out as of greatest importance in determining the period of leaving school, is that of the level of ability of the child. . . . It is obvious, however, that inferior ability is not the only factor involved in elimination from school. Some very superior children are eliminated early. . . . Last of all in importance I should rank the economic status of the family. It seems to be true that if the ability of the child is adequate and the parental ideals are fixed upon education, some way is found to keep the child in school."¹

That a child is unable to cope, for any reason, with the ordinary school curriculum is hardly a valid reason for permitting him to take up whatever employment he can find.

Both the majority and minority reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in England regarded boy labour as a source of unemployment:—

"The great prominence given to boy labour, not only in our evidence, but in the various reports of our special investigators, leads us to the opinion that this is, perhaps, the most serious of the phenomena which we have encountered in our study of Unemployment."²

"We regard this perpetual recruitment of the unemployable by tens of thousands of boys who, through neglect to provide them with suitable industrial training, may almost be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course, as perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts which this Commission has laid bare. We cannot believe that the nation can long persist in ignoring the fact that the unemployed, and particularly the underemployed and the unemployable, are thus being daily created under our eyes."³

Lord Askwith, who, appointed by the British Board of Trade from 1896 on as a special conciliator or arbitrator in industrial disputes and as chief industrial commissioner of the labour department of the Board of Trade from 1911 to 1919, has had, perhaps, the longest and most successful experience as a conciliator in labour disputes, points out in his book, *Industrial Problems and Disputes*,⁴ that one of the fundamental causes of labour troubles is the haphazard way in which juveniles enter employment to which they may not be suited physically or otherwise, for which they have had no training and where they may receive no training or only a very limited one.

"The present practice not only stunts the proper growth of our youths, but tilts their activities in a wrong direction. . . . Let it be admitted that the education of children has been progressive, that the good education of twenty years ago was not equal to that of ten years ago, that the education of ten years ago fell short of the education of to-day, and that the training of our children from five to fifteen years of age is being constantly improved. . . . The tendency is in the direction of education and still more education. . . . And yet, in comparison with this attitude, public sentiment, so far as the training of our young workpeople after they leave school is concerned, is one of surprising neglect. Much has been said and written of the extreme impressionability of the youth of both sexes between the years of fifteen and twenty. Whether these years are the most impressionable or not does not matter. They are at least sufficiently impressionable to make the after-life of the youth largely dependent upon the use which is made of these years. What generally happens? At the risk of repetition, is it not the fact that the general practice is to place these young people with some private employer whose business is not training, but production? No doubt there is in the mind of the parents a hope that the broad education begun at school will be followed by a comprehensive training in the trade which the youth has chosen. In actual fact nothing of the kind occurs. Let us suppose that a lad enters a trade through the medium of a large manufacturing business. The lad finds that the line taken with

¹ Woolley, *An Experimental Study of Children at Work and at School between the Ages of Fourteen and Eighteen Years*, New York, 1926, p. 725. See Appendix to this publication, p. 135.

² Majority Report, 1909, Part VI, chap. 1, p. 141.

³ Minority Report, 1909, Part II, Chap. IV, E. iii.

⁴ London, 1921, pp. 18-24.

his education while he was at school is reversed. At school the whole endeavour was to broaden and expand his mind, so much so that he frequently wondered to what use he could put the different branches of knowledge which he was encouraged to study. In his new business a contrary line is taken. His work is narrowed, confined, and restricted; he is encouraged to become proficient in one or a few operations, not to acquire a general knowledge of a trade.

"It does not require much reflection to see that no other result could come from the system at present followed in industrial education. Until a comparatively recent date, industrial education was left, with some confidence, almost entirely to employers under the apprenticeship systems. Whatever may be said of this training in the past—and it may have been suitable a century ago—it is certainly wholly inadequate now. . . . A lad entering his apprenticeship to-day does not learn his trade, and matters, if allowed to go on, will not right themselves, for the simple reason that all tendencies and interests are the other way.

"An employer, when he engages a lad, however much he may be concerned with the mental, moral, industrial, and physical development of the boy, is much more concerned with making his own business a success and, naturally, whatever he may do for the boy is circumscribed by his larger and more important aim. Many, in fact, pay little attention to the lad except as an aid to their business. In any case the modern employer does not want his works filled with all-round highly-skilled mechanics or artisans. He requires many specialized workmen capable of handling the machines as specialists, and executing the parts of the special kind of work he is engaged in manufacturing. Any training he gives his apprentices will naturally tend in the direction of turning out men equipped for the special operation he will require them to do. Thus thousands of young men become highly expert in one, or at most a few operations, and narrowed, in outlook as well as capability, long before they are out of their apprenticeship. . . . Our young men are, by this method of specialized and narrow training and consequent stoppage of prospects of advancement, being driven from the pursuit of trade ambitions, and ruined as prospective aids in the struggle to connect to man's use the gifts and forces of nature. This educational equipment of the youth has resulted in hundreds of thousands of workpeople being forced into more or less active hostility to their employers. In place of eager joint efforts to expedite production, many in fact seek to retard production, while many are, to say the least, indifferent. Others are imbued with an hostility which develops into antagonism to all authority. Some consolation is no doubt obtained from the thought that, frequent as industrial problems are, they have so far been surmounted by some means or other, and the hope is possibly entertained that, harassing as the recurring menace is, means will still be found by which the difficulties will continue to be surmounted. The consolation must be small, because the seriousness of the trouble is so steadily increasing that it is obvious a condition of things is growing which, unless rectified, must have a grave effect. No other result can be expected. The knowledge and intelligence possessed by children leaving school is progressive. It is foolish to keep drafting this growing intelligence into industry, and expect it to remain quiescent when the hopelessness of advancement in industry becomes apparent to that intelligence. . . .

"There are at least two remedies within reach:

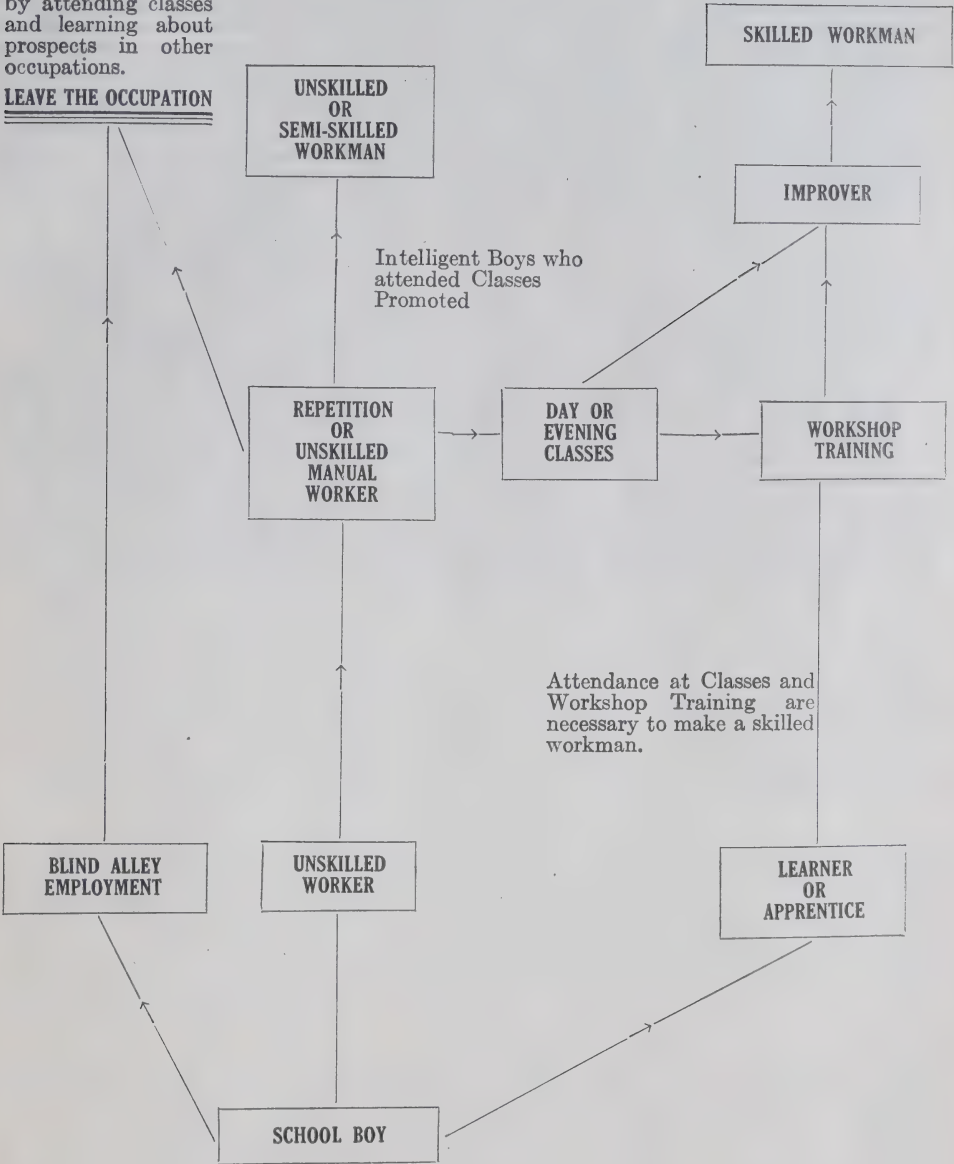
- (1) Completing by industrial education the work commenced at school.
- (2) A changed method in the workshop handling of labour.

"As to completing by industrial education the work commenced at school, if the qualities embodied in children require careful tending during their younger years, it is surely not less desirable that care should be taken when they are just beginning to be aware of the great possibilities of life. The nation, or, if intervention by the nation is to be avoided, associations of employers or individual employers for those within their trade or factory, and trade unions, instead of being satisfied with education and training up to fourteen or fifteen, should aim at completing by industrial education the work commenced at school. The development of our youths is equally the interest of the nation as is the development of the child. Why stop at fourteen or fifteen years of age? If the education of the child by the nation has proved beneficial, why not go on and see him through part, at least, of his industrial education? After he is twenty or so, he may safely be left to fight his own battle and specialize if he so wishes; but until then guidance, encouragement, and help in the workshop are essential to the broad, general, and varied training which is necessary to his or her full man- or womanhood. Recent developments of secondary training-schools are only a small beginning. . . .

"It may be allowed that the proportion of his worth to the trade may not be an easy question to answer. Is it more than to give to each lad "a fair sporting chance" of getting an opening in life? I am not saying that every lad can have or obtain a general education, or should learn a whole business or the objects of it. Many lads show no aptitude or ambition whatever for acquiring such knowledge. Their parents,

Prepare for this time
by attending classes
and learning about
prospects in other
occupations.

LEAVE THE OCCUPATION



family, sexual inclinations, so fearfully strong and so generally overlooked, laziness or stupidity, may each or all be causes which prevent any desire or attempt to move forward. Those lads will take a back place in the battle of life. They will be in the army of the unskilled or semi-skilled, with no ambition to go farther; but still, it is fair and expedient that they should have had their chance.

"Guidance as to vocation may be helpful. Opportunity from the State, the municipality, or the wise employer may afford the opening for those capable to taking it, and the door may advisably never be entirely closed. Nevertheless the fact remains that in modern industry there must be division of work and specialization. If the opportunity of general education is not taken, or the value of general knowledge of a trade is not recognized or is not sufficiently valuable to an individual, that individual has to select the course that he will or can follow. The most that can be said for him is that he should have had his chance; a chance which under present conditions he seldom gets. The State may do something, but a few hours a week in secondary education do not afford much foothold. Voluntary associations directing lads in clubs may do much. Employers endeavouring to select the best brains amongst their employees may do more; and if parents are gradually brought to see the importance of lads having their chance and not being hurried, for the sake of present gain at the expense of their future, into minor wage-earning employments, parents can do most. The intention and wider outlook have to be obtained. Then all correlative forces may unite in the same effort. Give the lad or girl the best chance which is possible, up to the age of twenty or twenty-one, and then, as leading-strings cannot be kept indefinitely in being, their place in the body politic and their future must largely depend upon themselves and their own aptitude."¹

The accompanying diagram, published in *Industrial Problems and Disputes*,²

"represents the three courses which are open to a boy when he leaves school. The right-hand side shows the path of a boy who becomes an apprentice or learner. . . . The middle section shows the paths which are open to the boy who enters industry as an unskilled worker. . . . On the left is shown the path of those boys who enter blind-alley employment—that is, occupations which provide work for boys and youths only. All these young people will be compelled to seek fresh work. It is particularly important that boys in these two sections should realize at an early stage that they will be forced to find fresh employment after a few years. They should prepare for the time of change by considering what they are going to be, and by attending classes to improve their education. Unless they do this the future has few prospects for them."

¹Pp. 18-24. ²P. 44.

PART I

STATISTICS, CENSUS OF 1921

The census report for 1921 gives the numbers of persons, by age and by sex, who were employed in that year in gainful occupations classified in ten industrial divisions for the Dominion as a whole and for each of the nine provinces. The census enumerators were not required to collect information as to the occupations of the people in the Yukon Territory or the Northwest Territories and the word "Canada" in this publication refers only to the nine provinces. The number of young persons in the Territories would be very small. Employed juveniles are enumerated in the census report at 10 to 13 years of age inclusive, at 14 years, 15 years and at 16 to 17 years inclusive. In Volume IV of the report, the ages 14 and 15 are taken together. In the monograph on Children in Gainful Occupations, juveniles of these ages are enumerated separately.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate information as to occupations by industry is referred to in the census report:—

"The chief obstacle to following a detailed classification of occupations is the difficulty of securing accurate returns by the census enumerators of technically exact designations of different occupations. In many instances the information regarding the wage earners in the family may be furnished by a member of the family who knows only where the worker is employed, but not the kind of work or occupation followed in the establishment where employed. This fact makes it impossible, in many cases, for the enumerator to return the occupations of such persons properly. . . . In addition to the technical difficulties due to the complexity of present-day industrial organization there are certain other difficulties, which are even greater hindrances, in the securing of an accurate return of the specific occupations of the persons enumerated. Chief of these is the employment of untrained enumerators who do not always appreciate the importance of obtaining explicit answers to occupation inquiries and who have only a limited knowledge of specific occupations and their technical designations. Next in importance is the difficulty of securing absolutely correct returns from persons who are indifferent, or not trained in making accurate statements or who, as a matter of fact, do not know the precise nature of the occupations followed by persons, other than themselves. In many cases there is no definite line of demarcation between industries. In the same factory, agricultural implements, carriages, tractors, automobiles, etc., may be built. Formerly to a large degree each workman had a definite occupation, so that classification of occupations was a comparatively easy task. Unless these practical difficulties, and the technical difficulty due to the overlapping of industries can be eliminated, accurate enumeration of occupations, and in turn, accurate classification and statistics of occupations are well nigh impossible. Each of these difficulties may be lessened somewhat, but neither can be eliminated entirely."

Added to these hindrances which affect the returns for all persons in gainful occupations, there are particular difficulties in the way of securing accurate information as to juveniles in gainful employment, particularly children under or about school age, children illegally employed, juveniles working certain parts of the years and unemployed or at school at other times, and juveniles employed in agriculture and other rural industries. There is no doubt a tendency on the part of some parents to overstate the age of children in gainful occupations in order not to appear to conflict with what may be regarded as public opinion on the matter of "child labour."

The census returns, moreover, do not represent the full extent of the employment of juveniles in Canada, even if correct answers were given in every case to the census enumerators as to the age of the child, his occupation and the time spent at work. First, they do not include children under 10 years of age, a considerable number of whom are employed on farms, particularly fruit and vegetable farms, and in various kinds of rural industries and on the city streets. Some of these children work before and after school hours and in the school vacation during the summer months while others absent themselves from school during the busy season or where the letter or the enforcement of the school attendance law permits. Second, they do not include juveniles over 10 years of age who are employed outside school hours or who attend school part of the term and do not "spend the major portion of their time" working for wages. Third, they do not include juveniles over 10 years of age who were working for their parents at housework or on the farm or at any

other work, when attending school, but do include "children who spend the major portion of their time at home and who materially assist their parents in the performance of work other than household duties."¹

As the census was taken on June 1, the figures for juveniles may have been affected to some extent by the seasonal character of some of the industries which employ juveniles. Persons taken on for work in or about fruit and vegetable canneries in the busy seasons are drawn from other work and from the schools. Juveniles working in canneries but at other times attending school would not be recorded as having an occupation and others would probably be enumerated as in the occupation of June 1. The fruit and vegetable industry has enjoyed a certain degree of exemption from the provisions of the Factories Acts regarding the employment of women and children in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and British Columbia² on the ground of the urgency of the work. When the census was taken, employment in this industry would be relatively low. Large numbers of children and young persons are engaged in outdoor and indoor work in connection with the packing or preserving of fruits and vegetables.

In any consideration of the employment situation, the economic geography of the country must be borne in mind. Different physical characteristics and varying stages of development mark the four economic divisions. The three Maritime Provinces with lands, forests, fisheries and mines as their chief natural resources, were early settled. The provinces of Ontario and Quebec had lands, forests and mines with abundant water power for manufacturing purposes. Until about 1900, only the central and southern parts of these two provinces were fairly closely settled. Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta had great stretches of agricultural land with some mineral deposits, particularly in the extensive coal fields of Alberta. The heavy immigration movement in the first decade of the twentieth century affected these three provinces particularly, while a corresponding period of industrial expansion was enjoyed by the older provinces in central and eastern Canada. With the opening up of the prairie provinces for settlement, there was also a movement of many of the male population 20 to 40 years of age from the eastern and central provinces to the west. In British Columbia, fisheries, forests and mines have been developed, with fruit and vegetable farming in the southern part of the province and on Vancouver Island. The opening of the Panama canal in 1914 has been of the greatest importance to British Columbia, stimulating the production of commodities and greatly increasing the number of persons employed in transporting them.

The population of Prince Edward Island, then, is almost entirely rural, with agriculture and fishing the chief occupations of the people. In Nova Scotia, agriculture, mining, especially coal mining, iron and steel and other manufacturing, fishing and logging provide employment for the larger part of the population. The people of New Brunswick are chiefly occupied with agriculture, logging, fishing and manufacturing. In these three provinces, the population is mostly Canadian or British-born. The occupations of the people in Quebec and Ontario are more diversified, less than one-third of the population being employed at farm work and the proportion engaged in manufacturing being larger than in the other provinces. The construction industries play an important part in these provinces and mining and logging occupy a considerable number of persons, mining being more important in Ontario and logging in Quebec in so far as the proportion of the population employed is concerned. In 1921, of the population of Quebec 92 per cent were native-born, while in Ontario there was a larger admixture of British-born, other than Canadian, with less than 1 per cent of foreign-born. The three prairie provinces are almost wholly agricultural, but manufacturing in Manitoba and mining in Alberta give employment to an increasing proportion of the population. It is in these three provinces that the largest percentage of the foreign-born is to be found. Over 25 per cent of the population of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1921 were foreign-born. In Manitoba the percentage of foreign-born was 18, this province having a slightly higher proportion of British stock other than Canadian. The proportion of the population engaged in agriculture in British Columbia is not much greater than the proportion in the manufacturing industries. Transportation requires a larger proportion of workers in this province too, while the logging, fishing and mining industries provide a considerable share of employment. Only 50 per cent of the people of British Columbia in 1921 were Canadian-born but an additional 30 per cent were British-born.

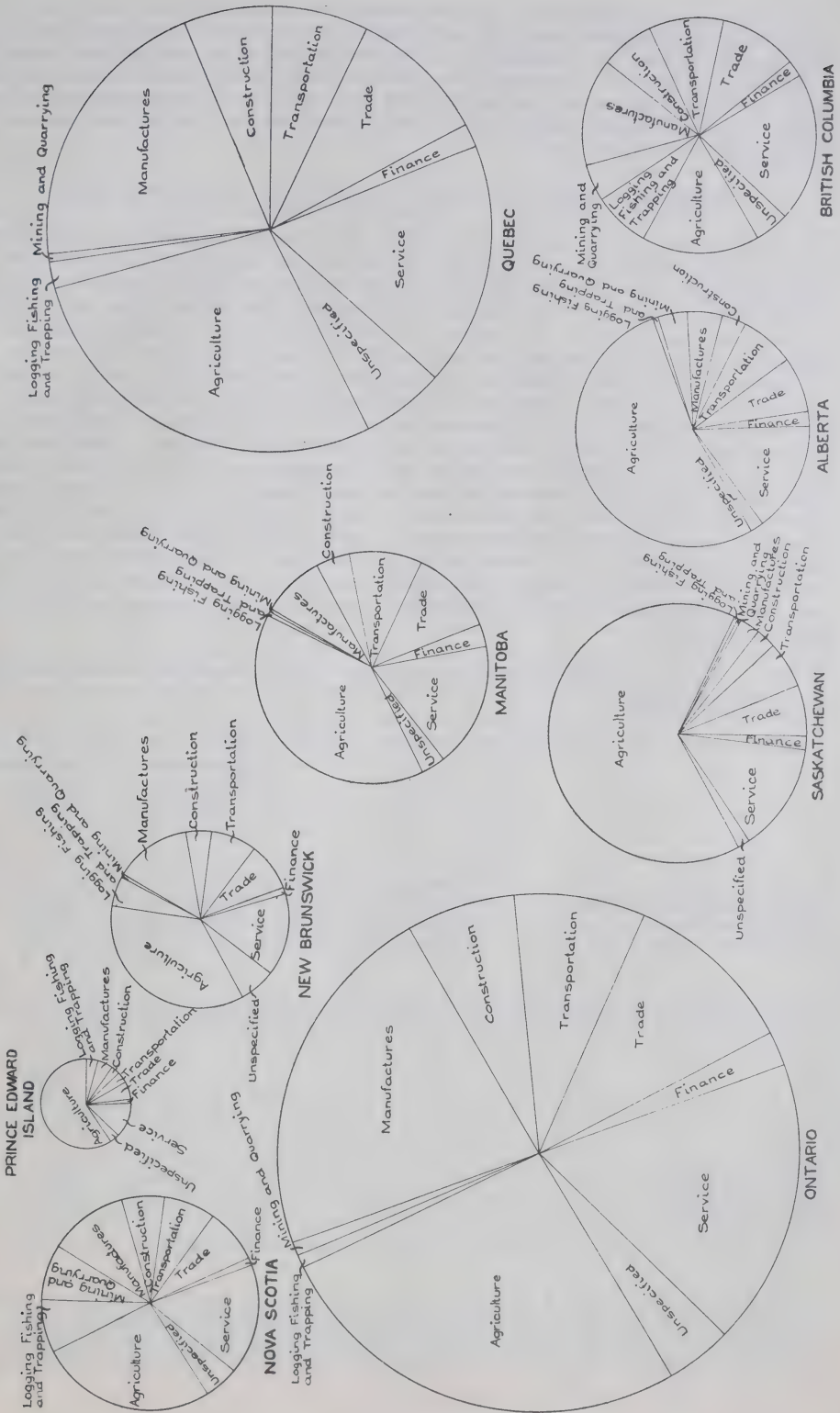
¹Census, 1921. Instructions to commissioners and enumerators.

²See section on Canning Industry, pp. 115-116. In Ontario no exemption is now permitted in so far as children are concerned.

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED POPULATION BY PROVINCES AND INDUSTRIES 1921

STATISTICS, CENSUS OF 1921

13



It will be obvious from the foregoing sketch of the economic divisions and racial character of the population that the employment of juveniles in Canada will vary from province to province in accordance with the standard of living, customs and education of parents and others in the neighbourhood, the provision for schools, the stage of development in agricultural districts, the employment opportunities in urban communities, and, finally, with the statutory conditions as to school attendance and employment imposed by the legislatures of the provinces.

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT, 1891, 1901, 1911 AND 1921

At the census, 1921, the number of employed juveniles was reported for the age-groups, 10 to 13 years, 14 years, 15 years and 16 to 17 years. The census reports of 1891 and 1911 show the numbers of employed children from 10 to 14 years, inclusive, but the age-group at the census of 1901 was from 10 to 15 years inclusive. The census figures may therefore be analyzed, first to show the changes in the employment of children through the intercennial periods down to 1921, and second, to show conditions at the last census.

Table 1 sets out the number of children over 10 and under 15 years of age in the population and the number employed at these ages in the years 1891, 1911 and 1921, with the increase or decrease over the intervening years. Table 2 gives the same information for those over 10 and under 16 years of age for the years 1901 and 1921. These tables show, also, the number employed in agriculture and the number in non-agricultural industries. Farm labour constitutes a problem in juvenile employment but it is a different problem from that of children in other industries. Further, it would appear to be the children engaged in agricultural work regarding whom it is most difficult for the census enumerators to obtain accurate information. Owing to the fact that most of these children are working for their parents without wages and probably attending school at some periods of the year there would be a tendency on the part of some parents not to report such children as gainfully employed.

TABLE 1.—Number of Juveniles, 10-14 Years of Age, Inclusive, in the Population and Number in Gainful Occupations, 1891, 1911 and 1921 with Number and Per Cent of Increase or Decrease from 1891 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921.

—	1891	1911	1921	Increase or decrease from 1891-1911		Increase or decrease from 1911-1921	
				No.	%	No.	%
Number in population.....	548,989	698,376	912,367	+ 149,387	+27.2	+ 213,991	+30.6
Number in gainful occupations.....	75,601	25,153	29,566	- 50,448	-66.7	+ 4,413	+17.5
Number in agriculture.....	62,708	5,399	17,154	- 57,309	-91.4	+ 11,755	+217.7
Number in other industries.....	12,893	19,754	12,412	+ 6,861	+53.2	- 7,342	- 37.2

TABLE 2.—Number of Juveniles, 10-15 Years of Age, Inclusive, in the Population and Number in Gainful Occupations, 1901 and 1921, with Number and Per Cent of Increase from 1901 to 1921.

—	1901	1921	Increase	
			No.	%
Number in population.....	684,945 ¹	1,076,253	391,670	57.2
Number in gainful occupations.....	41,654	73,208	31,554	75.7
Number in agriculture.....	16,206	36,657	20,451	126.2
Number in other industries.....	25,448	36,551	11,103	43.6

¹Estimated.

It appears from Table 1 that there was a big decrease in the number of children, 10 to 14 years of age inclusive, employed in gainful occupations between the years 1891 and 1911 but that this reduction was confined to agricultural workers. The number in non-agricultural industries increased more rapidly in these twenty years than the population

at these ages. It is probable that the opening up of schools in many parts of the country, particularly in northern Ontario and the western provinces, and the strengthening of school attendance laws¹ played a large part in bringing about a decrease in the number of children working on farms but the very small number of children of these ages at farm work in 1911 as compared with 1891 and 1921 would seem to indicate some differences in the enumeration in 1911, in so far as juvenile farm workers were concerned. The instructions to the enumerators were the same, however, in both years. On the other hand, the industrial expansion throughout the period from 1891 to 1911 afforded greater employment opportunities to children in mines, factories, shops and miscellaneous occupations such as that of domestic servants, casual labourers, messengers, drivers, etc. There were 19,754 children under 15 years of age employed in non-agricultural industries in 1911, compared with 12,893 in 1891, an increase of 53 per cent. The percentage increase in the population at these ages was 27. Following the entry of children into industrial and mercantile establishments in the early part of this period came the enactment of factories and shops Acts to regulate their employment.²

At the opening of the decade, 1911 to 1921, the tide of prosperity was rising. At the end of 1913, it began to ebb but with the expansion of war industries late in 1915 there was again plentiful employment. A reaction set in towards the end of 1920 and the depression continued throughout 1921 when the census was taken. In the meantime, however, the changing industrial conditions and standards of this abnormal period, with relatively larger family incomes owing to the steady employment of the father and the openings for work for persons above school age, had played their part in raising the standard of living and bringing about an extension of school life for the younger children. Standards once attained are not readily abandoned and the juvenile employment figures in 1921 are no doubt affected by this improvement in social and educational standards. Table 1 indicates an increase during this period in the number under 15 years of age in the population of over 30 per cent but the increase among those employed at these ages was considerably less—17 per cent. This relatively small upward movement in the volume of child labour appears again to be due solely to the much greater number reported as working on farms. Agricultural workers of these ages more than trebled from 1911 to 1921 while the number of those employed in other industries showed a reduction of 37 per cent. It should be emphasized again that the number of children reported to the census enumerators as employed is liable to a certain degree of error owing to the casual or temporary nature of many of the jobs taken by children and particularly the intermittent nature of much of the farm work carried on by children. On the other hand, agricultural development, particularly in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, would tend to increase the actual number of children working on their parents' farms. In addition to the general economic factors affecting juvenile employment in this period as noted above, there was stricter enforcement of school attendance laws through the appointment of school attendance officers in several provinces and new laws raised the minimum age for employment in mines, factories and shops³. In some provinces, however, the school attendance requirements were still lower in rural districts than in cities and towns. Enforcement, too, is a simpler matter within urban communities. Some provision for technical education⁴ was beginning to be made and after the passing of the Dominion statute of 1919 granting financial assistance to the provinces in promoting technical education, technical schools absorbed a considerable number of children who would otherwise have entered the world of labour at thirteen or fourteen years of age.

Table 2 relates to the 20-year period 1901 to 1921. Of the children under 16 years of age, those of 14 and 15 years would be above the statutory school-leaving age in 1921, except in Alberta. The boys would be above the minimum age for employment in factories and shops at that time in all the provinces except Alberta, and the girls above the statutory age except in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. In this age group, the population increased 57 per cent while the number in gainful occupations increased 75 per cent. The numbers of workers on farms grew from 16,202 to 36,657, a gain of 126 per cent. In non-agricultural industries, there was an increase of 11,103 children of these ages, or 43 per cent.

¹See section on School Attendance, pp. 96-102.

²See sections on legislation governing factories and shops, pp. 104 and 121.

³See sections under these three headings, pp. 102, 104 and 121.

⁴See section on Apprenticeship and Technical Education, pp. 94-96.

It appears, then, that the actual number under 15 years of age employed in non-agricultural industries decreased in the ten years from 1911 to 1921 by 37 per cent. On the other hand, in the twenty-year period 1901 to 1921, the number under 16 years of age engaged in non-agricultural pursuits increased by 43 per cent while the population at these ages increased by 57 per cent.

The information contained in Tables 1 and 2 is analyzed from another point of view in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—Number of Juveniles in Population and Number and Per Cent in Gainful Occupations in Canada in 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921

Ages	Year	Population	All Industries		Agriculture		Other Industries	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10-14 years.....	1891	548,989	75,601	13.8	62,708	11.4	12,893	2.3
	1911	698,376	25,153	3.6	5,399	0.8	19,754	2.8
	1921	912,367	29,566	3.2	17,154	1.9	12,412	1.4
10-15 years.....	1901	684,945 ¹	41,654	6.1	16,206	2.4	25,448	3.7
	1921	1,076,253	73,208	6.8	36,657	3.4	36,551	3.4

¹Estimated.

This table shows that there was a decline in the proportion of children, 10 to 14 years of age inclusive, employed in Canada from 1891 to 1911 and, again, from 1911 to 1921. Of all the children of these ages in 1891, 13.8 per cent were reported as engaged in some gainful occupation. This percentage decreased to 3.6 in 1911 and declined further to 3.2 per cent in 1921. The proportion working on farms fell from 11.4 per cent in 1891 to less than 1 per cent in 1911 but rose to 1.9 per cent in 1921. A reduction in the proportion employed in non-agricultural industries occurred in both periods, 1891 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921. Of the juveniles, 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, the numbers employed in all occupations, in agricultural work and in non-agricultural industries increased from 1901 to 1921. The proportion employed at these ages increased from 6.1 per cent to 6.8 per cent. As shown in connection with Table 2, the large increase on farms was responsible for this general gain, the percentage of juveniles under 16 years of age in other industries falling from 3.7 to 3.4.

How much of this decline was due to the depressed condition of industry when the census of 1921 was taken, it is impossible to gauge. The information collected by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in connection with its annual census of the manufacturing industries showed 18,717 juveniles under 16 years of age drawing wages in 1918, 15,155 in 1919 and 12,011 in 1920. The percentage of juveniles of these ages to the total number of wage-earners at December 15 or the nearest representative date "was 2.1 in 1915, advancing to slightly over 3 per cent in 1917 and 1918 and declining to 2.9 per cent and 2.4 per cent respectively in 1919 and 1920."¹ At the decennial census of 1921, the number of those under 16 reported as working in factories was 14,268 or 3 per cent of the total number of persons employed in factories. No data as to the ages of those employed have been collected on the census of industry schedules since 1920 and there is little information as to the trend in juvenile employment since 1921, none at all as to the numbers employed under 16 years of age.

The number of all employees in manufacturing establishments in Canada in 1921 was shown by the annual industrial census to have been 456,076. In 1927, this number had risen to 618,933. The Department of Labour of British Columbia published annually up till 1926 industrial statistics for that province based on returns from employers showing the number of workers over 18 and under 18 years of age. For the year 1921, there were 69,966 persons over 18 years of age reported as employed in manufacturing, mining, quarrying, smelting, lumbering, construction and the operation of street railways and public utilities. The corresponding figure for 1926 was 107,809, an increase of 54.1 per cent. Those under 18 years of age reported as employed in these industries numbered 1,455 in 1921 and 2,722 in 1926, an increase of 87.8 per cent. Apprentices are listed separately and are not included in the above figures. The number of apprentices rose from 748 to 1,281, a gain of 71.2 per cent. It is highly probable that a large proportion of these apprentices

¹Canada Year Book, 1922-23, p. 434.

were under 18 years of age. It should be noted that the dividing point in these employment figures is 18 years, not 16. Similar statistics for 1927 and 1928 relate to male employees over and under 21 years of age and to female employees over and under 18 years of age. The increase in the number of adult males from 1927 to 1928 was 7 per cent, that of males under 21 years old, 6.5 per cent. The number of girls under 18 increased 20.8 per cent, the number of women over 18 increased 18.5 per cent. These employment statistics for British Columbia are based only on reports received from employers, and some of the increase is stated by the Department of Labour to be probably due to the fact that the proportion of employers making returns to the Department has increased. The comparison in the rate of increase as between adults and juveniles will hardly be affected, however, to any great extent by this insufficiency in the figures.

It is likely that with the general increase in employment since 1921 there has been some increase in the number of young workers but the number of those employed under 16 has probably decreased at least in proportion to the total number if not in actual numbers. Higher age standards have been established in some provinces for employment or school attendance since the census of 1921. The minimum age for factory employment of girls in British Columbia was raised in 1923 from 14 to 15. In the same year, 16 years instead of 12 was established as the minimum age for work about coal mines in Nova Scotia and in 1927 for work in metal mines. In 1921 the age at which employment in shops might be permitted in Ontario was raised from 12 to 14. The minimum school-leaving age has been raised in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and in Ontario since 1921. In the two former provinces, the school-leaving age was fixed at 15 instead of 14. In Manitoba, those over 14 and under 16 who were not regularly employed were required to attend school and in Ontario the Adolescent School Attendance Act established 16, instead of 14, as the school-leaving age. Exemptions are permitted from these standards in certain cases¹ but the more energetic enforcement of the laws in all the provinces has no doubt kept a large number of children in school and out of employment. Further, the increased prosperity of the years since 1921 has tended in all probability to remove some of the younger juveniles from the labour market.

The significance of any statement regarding the change in the number of young persons employed in Canada as a whole is very slight since such employment is greater in some provinces than in others and conditions affecting it vary from one industry to another. Figures by provinces are shown in Table 4 for the boys and girls from 10 to 14 years of age inclusive, engaged in gainful occupations in 1891, 1911 and 1921 and for those from 10 to 15 years inclusive, employed in 1901 and 1921.

TABLE 4.—Number of Juveniles of Each Sex in Gainful Occupations in Canada, by Provinces, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921

	10-14 years						10-15 years			
	1891		1911		1921		1901		1921	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Canada.....	70,153	5,448	17,376	7,777	24,556	5,010	30,630	11,024	58,074	15,134
Prince Edward Island.....	2,014	78	103	37	264	59	959	118	623	116
Nova Scotia.....	6,432	548	1,127	373	1,037	251	3,154	662	2,570	665
New Brunswick...	4,955	306	606	254	1,070	217	2,823	408	2,396	552
Quebec.....	20,287	1,675	5,603	2,672	11,853	2,251	11,960	4,256	24,292	5,903
Ontario.....	31,065	2,570	6,935	3,167	5,587	1,563	8,947	4,665	16,018	5,685
Manitoba.....	3,240	90	983	457	1,258	238	1,337	535	3,292	789
Saskatchewan....	1,249	46	641	349	2,373	271	831	259	5,433	741
Alberta.....			540	259	605	55			1,979	290
British Columbia	911	135	838	209	509	105	619	121	1,471	393

Tables 1 and 3 showed that between 1891 and 1911 there was a large decrease in the number employed under 15 years of age but that this reduction appeared to be confined to agricultural workers, the number in other industries having risen 53 per cent or almost twice as rapidly as the increase in the population at these ages. Table 4 shows further that a considerable part of the gain in the number of juveniles of these ages in non-agricul-

¹See section on School Attendance, pp. 99-100.

tural industries was due to the greater number of girls under 15 employed in 1911 as compared with 1891. The number of girls employed on farms in Canada, other than those in domestic service, is negligible. It will be shown later that the increased number of girls in manufacturing plants accounts for most of this difference but mercantile establishments and domestic service gave occupation to a greater number of girls also. In all provinces there were fewer boys reported employed in 1911 than in 1891, as is to be expected from the decrease in the number on farms, but in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia the number of employed girls under 15 years of age increased.

Between 1911 and 1921, however, the number of girls from 10 to 14 years inclusive, in gainful occupations decreased on the whole and in all provinces but Prince Edward Island. On the other hand, the number of working boys under 15 increased by 7,180, only Nova Scotia, Ontario and British Columbia showing a reduction in the number of boys in gainful occupations in this decade. In the three prairie provinces combined, 2,072 more boys under 15 years of age were employed in 1921 than in 1911. In these provinces the increase in population and agricultural development would result in a larger number of boy workers on farms. In Quebec, there were 6,250 more boys under 15 at work in 1921 than in 1911, an increase of 111 per cent. The number in agriculture increased from 1,176 to 8,264 and there was also a greater number employed in logging but the other industries in Quebec showed a reduction in the number of employed juveniles under 15 years. The gain in New Brunswick was 464 or about 76 per cent.

Among the juveniles under 16 years of age, there was increased employment of both boys and girls in Canada in 1921 as compared with 1901. The number of employed girls of these ages showed a gain of 4,110 over all the provinces, Prince Edward Island alone showing a decline. The reduction in Prince Edward Island and the increase in Nova Scotia are negligible and almost counterbalance each other. The immigration and the east-to-west movements during this period, particularly to the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, account for the greater number of boys and girls employed in these provinces and in British Columbia. In Quebec and Ontario, there was a substantial increase in the number of girls under 16 employed, the former province employing 1,647 more and Ontario 1,020 more than in 1901. The employment of boys of these ages declined in the three Maritime Provinces, more than doubled in Quebec and British Columbia, rose 79 per cent in Ontario and increased five times in the prairie provinces.

To gauge these changes properly the increase in population must be reckoned with and the industries absorbing the young workers. Table 5 gives the number and proportion of children, from 10 to 14 years of age, inclusive, engaged in gainful occupations by provinces for 1891, 1911 and 1921 and also the number and proportion of juveniles from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, for 1901 and 1921.

As shown in Table 3 above, the proportion of children from 10 to 14 years of age in Canada who were working for wages or on their parents' farms showed a sharp reduction in 1911 as compared with 1891 and a further decline in 1921, although the actual number at work in 1921 was greater than in 1911. Table 5 shows that throughout the nine provinces between 1891 and 1911 there was a big decrease both in numbers and in proportion to population. Reference to the factors tending to bring about this reduction was made in connection with Tables 1-3. During the decade, 1911-1921, there were opposite trends in different provinces. The number employed in the province of Quebec rose from 8,275 to 14,104 and the proportion of the children at these ages in gainful occupations increased from 3.7 per cent to 5.1 per cent. In Saskatchewan, the number employed increased from 990 to 2,644 or from 2.3 per cent to 3.3 per cent of the population at these ages. In New Brunswick there were 1,287 children under 15 working in 1921 as compared with 860 in 1911, 2.9 per cent of all the juveniles of these ages in the province as compared with 2.2 per cent ten years before. In Prince Edward Island also, there was a gain in the number and proportion employed. In all these provinces the increased employment was in agricultural work. On the other hand, the number employed in Ontario dropped from 10,102 to 7,150, the percentage declining from 4.3 to 2.6. In Manitoba there were a few more at work in 1921 but the proportion had fallen from 3.4 to 2.3. In Nova Scotia and Alberta both numbers and proportions declined during the decade. This was also the case in British Columbia where there was a greater decrease. In considering this period, it might be noted again that the census of 1921 was taken at a time of industrial depression when there were relatively few opportunities for juveniles to obtain employment in factories and shops but there would be a tendency for them to work at odd jobs and about farms wherever their services would enable their parents to do without other help.

TABLE 5.—Number and Proportion of Juveniles Engaged in Gainful Occupations in the Dominion and in Each Province, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921

	10-14 years						10-15 years					
	1891			1911			1921			1921		
	Number in population	Number employed	Per cent	Number in population	Number employed	Per cent	Number in population	Number employed	Per cent	Number in population	Number employed	Per cent
Canada	548,989	75,601	13.8	698,376	25,153	3.6	912,367	29,566	3.2	684,945	41,654	6.1
Prince Edward Is.	13,526	2,092	15.5	10,518	140	1.3	9,395	323	3.4	14,847	1,077	7.3
Nova Scotia.....	53,574	6,980	13.0	51,746	1,500	2.9	57,265	1,288	2.2	59,393	3,816	6.4
New Brunswick.....	38,491	5,261	13.7	38,239	860	2.2	43,776	1,287	2.9	44,767	3,231	7.2
Quebec.....	172,865	21,962	12.7	222,172	8,275	3.7	274,673	14,104	5.1	225,493	16,216	7.2
Ontario.....	243,217	33,635	13.8	233,018	10,102	4.3	275,552	7,150	2.6	271,937	13,612	5.0
Manitoba.....	15,262	3,330	21.8	42,815	1,440	3.4	66,008	1,496	2.3	33,755	1,872	5.5
Saskatchewan.....	5,007	1,295	25.9	42,150	990	2.3	81,154	2,644	3.3	20,748	1,090	5.3
Alberta.....				32,362	799	2.5	59,251	660	1.1			
British Columbia.....	7,047	1,046	14.8	25,356	1,047	4.1	45,293	614	1.4	14,005	740	5.3

1 Calculated on the basis of the rate of increase in population 10-14 years of age from 1901 to 1921 for each province.

The increased number and the larger proportion of juveniles under 16 years of age at work in 1921 as compared with 1901 were due to their more extensive employment in Quebec, Ontario and the western provinces. In Quebec, there were 30,195 under 16 in gainful occupations in 1921 as against 16,216 in 1901 or 9.3 per cent of the total number of children of these ages in 1921 as compared with 7.2 per cent in 1901. The number employed in Ontario rose from 13,612 to 21,703 or from 5 per cent to 6.6 per cent of the population at these ages. In Manitoba there was an increase in the number under 16 years of age at work but there were fewer in proportion to the number at these ages in the population.

Table 6 shows the percentage distribution of all persons in gainful occupations and of employed juveniles by provinces for the years 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921.

TABLE 6.—Percentage Distribution of All Persons in Gainful Occupations and of Employed Juveniles, by Provinces, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921

	1891		1911		1921		1901		1921	
	All ages	10-14 years	All ages	10-14 years	All ages	10-14 years	All ages	10-15 years	All ages	10-15 years
Canada.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Prince Edward Island.....	2.2	2.8	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.9	2.6	1.0	1.0
Nova Scotia.....	9.8	9.2	6.4	6.0	5.8	4.4	8.7	9.2	5.8	4.4
New Brunswick..	6.7	7.0	4.4	3.4	4.2	4.3	6.3	7.8	4.2	4.0
Quebec.....	28.0	29.0	24.0	32.9	24.8	47.7	28.7	38.9	24.8	41.2
Ontario.....	45.5	44.5	36.4	40.2	35.2	24.2	42.3	32.7	35.2	29.6
Manitoba.....	3.4	4.4	6.5	5.7	6.8	5.1	4.8	4.5	6.8	5.6
Saskatchewan....	1.3	1.7	7.7	3.9	8.4	8.9	2.7	2.6	8.4	8.4
Alberta.....			5.9	3.2	6.8	2.2			6.8	3.1
British Columbia	3.0	1.4	7.6	4.2	6.9	2.1	4.6	1.8	6.9	2.5

This table indicates that the geographical distribution of juvenile labour has changed over the period of years covered by the table. In 1891, 44.5 per cent of all those gainfully occupied under 15 years of age were in Ontario, 29 per cent were in Quebec, 9.2 per cent in Nova Scotia and 7 per cent in New Brunswick. The western provinces had a smaller proportion although Manitoba had as high as 4.4 per cent of the employed children. In 1911, Ontario had still the largest number but Quebec was less than eight points behind and these two provinces together had about the same proportion that they had had twenty years before. The proportions in the Maritime Provinces, however, were decreasing before the advancing numbers in the four western provinces. By 1921, Ontario had fallen behind Quebec. Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island had gained in the proportion of employed juveniles within their boundaries while Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia had lost. The shifting of the volume of juvenile labour during the years from 1901 to 1921 shows a somewhat similar movement, from Ontario to Quebec with a slightly smaller proportion in these central provinces together in 1921 than in 1901, and from the three Maritime Provinces to the four western provinces. The trend in the proportionate distribution of all labour has been also from the eastern provinces and, to a less extent, from the central provinces to the west. Quebec, however, had a slightly higher percentage of all the persons in gainful occupations in Canada in 1921 than in 1911.

A comparison of the provincial distribution of juvenile labour with the distribution of all those gainfully occupied as shown in Table 6 indicates a relatively high and increasing percentage of those under 15 years of age in Quebec, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The distribution of employed juveniles 14 and 15 years old tends to be more in sympathy with that of all the working population. Only Quebec and Prince Edward Island¹ had a larger proportion of those employed under 16 years of age in 1921 than they had of all the gainfully occupied persons in Canada.

Another measurement of the changes in juvenile employment during these years is indicated in Table 7. The proportion that the number of children formed of the number of all those in gainful occupations is shown for the Dominion and for each province.

¹Prince Edward Island had 0.98 per cent of all gainfully occupied persons and 1.01 per cent of employed juveniles under 16 years in 1921.

TABLE 7.—Proportion of Juveniles Among the Total Number of Persons in Gainful Occupations, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921

(Total number of persons in gainful occupations in Canada and each province in each year = 100)

	10-14 years			10-15 years	
	1891	1911	1921	1901	1921
Canada	4.7	0.9	0.9	2.3	2.3
Prince Edward Island.....	5.9	0.4	1.0	3.2	2.4
Nova Scotia.....	4.4	0.9	0.7	2.5	1.7
New Brunswick.....	4.9	0.7	1.0	2.9	2.2
Quebec.....	4.9	1.3	1.8	3.2	3.8
Ontario.....	4.6	1.0	0.6	1.8	1.9
Manitoba.....	6.1	0.8	0.7	2.2	1.9
Saskatchewan.....	5.9	0.5	1.0	2.3	2.3
Alberta.....		0.5	0.3		1.0
British Columbia.....		0.5	0.3		0.8

The significant feature of this table is the almost identical proportion¹ that the number of children under 15 formed of all those in gainful occupations in Canada in 1911 and 1921 and, again, the almost identical proportion¹ that the number of juveniles under 16 formed of the number of all those gainfully occupied in 1901 and 1921. In 1921 in the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick there was a larger number employed under 15 years of age as compared with the total number gainfully occupied than in 1911. These were also the provinces that showed in Table 5 an increase from 1911 to 1921 in the proportion of juveniles of these ages at work and the relative extent of the increase causes them to fall in the same order.

In only two provinces, Quebec and Ontario, was there an increase in the proportion of workers under 16 years of age between 1901 and 1921. As in other tables, a sharp decrease is shown from 1891 to 1911.

The distribution among the different industries is the most important factor in the juvenile employment problem. Regulation of the employment of juveniles in Canada is entrusted to the provincial legislatures² under the British North America Act and it becomes therefore a problem for each province. But juveniles in agricultural work, in mines, in shops, handling injurious substances or near dangerous machines in factories, juveniles exposed to the influences of the street in messenger work or as newsboys, or to the excitement and harmful environment of places of amusement, juveniles working at night or at heavy physical work, and children working before and after school, all present different problems of prohibition or regulation.

Table 8 shows the number of employed boys and girls, from 10 to 14 years inclusive, by industries, for the years 1911 and 1921, and the number from 10 to 15 years of age inclusive for the years 1901 and 1921. This and subsequent tables do not cover the year 1891. Sufficient information has been given from the census report for 1891 to indicate the great industrial and educational changes that have occurred since that date. Further comparisons with 1891 do not appear to serve any useful purpose. Owing to the changes in the census classification of occupations from 1901 to 1921, it has been necessary to rearrange some of the groups in order to have them properly comparable.

¹The proportion who were under 15 increased between 1911 and 1921 from 0.92 per cent to 0.93 per cent; the proportion under 16 decreased between 1901 and 1921 from 2.34 per cent to 2.31 per cent.

²With certain exceptions; e.g. children employed at sea are governed by the Canada Shipping Act and children employed on Dominion works and undertakings would probably be within Federal jurisdiction.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

TABLE 8.—Number of Juveniles of Each Sex Employed in Gainful Occupations in Canada and in Each Province, by Industries, 1901, 1911 and 1921

	10-14 years				10-15 years			
	1911		1921		1901		1921	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Industries.....	17,376	7,777	24,556	5,010	30,631	11,024	58,074	15,134
Agriculture.....	5,377	22	17,131	23	16,163	43	36,518	139
Logging, fishing and trapping.....	574	1	530	3	499	.....	1,173	5
Mining.....	411	.....	163	6	326	.....	516	8
Manufactures.....	4,849	2,768	2,702	1,706	.....	.....	8,404	5,864
Repairs.....			132	1	.....	.....	495	8
Construction.....			325	1	.....	.....	1,045	11
	5,264	2,785	3,159	1,708	5,928	4,188	9,944	5,883
Trade.....	2,696	459	1,729	425	.....	.....	4,236	1,701
Finance.....					.....	.....	469	93
Transportation.....	736	47	409	45	.....	.....	1,332	318
	3,432	506	2,138	470	3,925	450	6,037	2,112
Domestic and personal service.....	915	4,346	356	2,680	2,095	6,272	865	6,430
Professions.....	27	18	12	.....	.....	.....	127	100
Government.....	340	34	69	7	.....	.....	271	47
	367	52	81	7	128	70	398	147
Recreation.....	29	29	39	5	15	1	116	24
Miscellaneous or unspecified.....	1,007	36	959	108	1,552	.....	2,507	386

The increase in the number of children, 10 to 14 years of age inclusive, employed in agriculture between 1911 and 1921 has been already commented on. In manufacturing, construction, mining, trade, transportation and domestic and personal service, the numbers employed under 15 years of age declined during this period. Most of those employed in miscellaneous or unspecified industries were recorded as labourers, messengers and office boys.

From 1901 to 1921, the number of boys, 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, working on farms more than doubled and there was a substantial increase in the number of both boys and girls in factories, the number of boys advancing from 5,928 in manufacturing and construction in 1901 to 8,404 in factories alone with 1,045 in construction in 1921. The number of girls in manufacturing plants increased from 4,188 to 5,864. Mercantile establishments absorbed a larger number, particularly of girls, and transportation work gave employment to 1,332 boys under 16 years of age in 1921.

Table 9 shows the number and per cent of employed children, 10 to 14 years of age inclusive, by industries, for the years 1911 and 1921, and the number and per cent of those 10 to 15 years inclusive, for the years 1901 and 1921 in each industrial division.

TABLE 9.—Number and Percentage Distribution of Juveniles, by Industries, 1901, 1911 and 1921

	10-14 years				10-15 years			
	1911		1921		1901		1921	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All industries.....	25,153	100	29,566	100	41,655	100	73,208	100
Agriculture.....	5,399	21.5	17,154	58.0	16,206	38.9	36,657	50.1
Logging, fishing and trapping.....	575	2.3	533	1.8	499	1.2	1,178	1.6
Mining.....	411	1.6	169	0.6	326	0.8	524	0.7
Manufactures.....	7,617	30.3	4,403	14.9	.....	.....	14,268	19.5
Repairs.....			133	0.4	.....	.....	503	0.7
Construction.....			326	1.1	.....	.....	1,056	1.4
	8,049	32.0	4,867	16.4	10,116	24.3	15,827	21.6
Trade.....	3,155	12.5	2,154	7.3	.....	.....	5,937	8.1
Finance.....							562	0.8
Transportation.....							1,650	2.2
	3,938	15.6	2,608	8.8	4,375	10.5	8,149	11.1
Domestic and personal service.....	5,261	20.9	3,036	10.3	8,367	20.1	7,295	10.0
Professions.....	45	0.2	12	0.0	.....	.....	227	0.3
Government.....	374	1.5	76	0.2	.....	.....	318	0.4
	419	1.7	88	0.2	198	0.5	545	0.7
Recreation.....	58	0.2	44	0.1	16	0.0	140	0.2
Miscellaneous or unspecified.....	1,043	4.1	1,067	3.6	1,552	3.7	2,893	3.9

It appears from this table that the proportion of the gainfully occupied children under 15 years who were working on farms increased from 21.5 per cent in 1911 to 58.0 per cent in 1921. The shifting to agriculture of the younger juveniles from the manufacturing, mining, and transportation industries and from trade and domestic and personal service during this decade is clearly indicated in the table. The increased juvenile labour on farms, however, more than made up for the decline in non-agricultural industries, since there were 4,413 more at work under 15 years of age in 1921 than in 1911. The same movement is reflected in the statistics for juveniles under 16 years of age between 1901 and 1921 but it is less extensive. The proportion in agricultural work grew from 38.9 per cent to 50.1 per cent of all those employed at these ages while there was a fall in the proportion in manufacturing and construction from 24.3 per cent to 21.6 per cent and in personal and domestic service from 20.0 to 10.0 per cent with a higher proportion reported in trade and transportation, in logging, fishing and trapping and in professional and government service.

Table 10 permits a comparison between the proportion of juveniles among the persons employed in certain industrial divisions in each of the years 1901, 1911 and 1921. The changes in the census classification and the lack of detailed information in the 1901 census report make it impossible to show the proportions in other industries.

TABLE 10.—Number and Proportion of Juveniles Among Persons Employed in Certain Industries, 1901, 1911 and 1921

	1911			1921			1901			1921	
	All ages	10-14 years	%	All Ages	10-14 years	%	All Ages	10-15 years	%	10-15 years	%
All Industries....	2,723,634	25,153	0.9	3,173,169	29,566	0.9	1,849,829	41,655	2.3	73,208	2.3
Agriculture.....	933,735	5,399	0.6	1,041,618	17,154	1.6	716,860	16,206	2.3	36,657	3.5
Mining.....	62,767	411	0.6	51,063	169	0.3	28,108	326	1.1	524	1.0
Manufacturing.....				520,275	4,408	0.8				14,268	2.7
Repairs.....				48,782	133	0.3				503	1.0
	493,216	7,617	1.5	569,057	4,541	0.8				14,771	2.6
Construction.....	158,656	432	0.3	185,202	326	0.2				1,056	0.6
	651,872	8,049	1.2	754,259	4,867	0.6	388,103	10,116	2.6	15,827	2.1
Trade.....				310,439	2,041	0.6				5,937	1.9
Finance.....				61,301	113	0.2				562	0.9
	283,087	3,155	1.1	371,740	2,154	0.6				6,499	1.7
Transportation....	217,544	783	0.3	247,210	454	0.2				1,650	0.7
	500,631	3,938	0.8	618,950	2,608	0.4	232,371	4,375	1.9	8,149	1.3

That the numerical importance of all the children under 15 employed in Canada hardly changed between 1911 and 1921 or that of those under 16 between 1901 and 1921 was noted in connection with Table 7. Table 10 shows that the ratio of juveniles in both these age-groups to the total number of those employed in agriculture has increased. From 1911 to 1921, the proportion of those under 15 rose from 0.6 per cent to 1.6 per cent and from 1901 to 1921 the proportion of those under 16 rose from 2.3 per cent to 3.5 per cent. In all other industrial groups for which information is available, the proportion of young workers declined in these two periods.

Summary of Changes, 1901-1921

It is difficult to determine the trend in juvenile employment in Canada during the years from 1901 to 1921, since there have been opposing factors at work in each province and conditions vary from one province to another. The growth in population and development of industry with the extension of agriculture tended to increase the numbers as well as the proportion of juveniles in employment while the provision of better educational facilities, greater legislative restrictions on employment and the improvement in the economic condition of a large part of the population tended to keep children at school and out of employment. On the whole, the ratio of juvenile to adult workers has remained about the same whether the 10-to-14-year-old children between 1911 and 1921 be considered or the 10-to-15-year-olds between 1901 and 1921. Among the former group the increases in Quebec and Saskatchewan counterbalance the decreases in the other provinces and among the older group the increased proportion of workers under 16 in Quebec and Ontario accounts for the general increase. On the other hand, the proportion of children 10 to 14 years of age in the population who were employed decreased between 1911 and 1921, while the proportion of those 10 to 15 years of age who were employed increased between 1901 and 1921. The proportion of those employed under 15 years increased in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec and Saskatchewan and that of those under 16 in the 20-year period in Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The proportion of juveniles among the persons gainfully occupied in agricultural work increased both for the younger group from 1911 to 1921 and for the 10-to-15-year-olds from 1901 to 1921. In the other industrial divisions of the census classification the proportion of young workers declined in both periods and for both age-groups.

Between 1901 and 1921, the number of employed girls under 16 increased, the larger numbers in manufacturing, trade and domestic service accounting for the general increase. The number of boys increased in agriculture, logging and fishing, mining, manufacturing, construction and trade. The number of girls under 15 years of age who were employed declined between 1911 and 1921, while the number of employed boys of these ages increased but only in agriculture.

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT IN 1921

As the report on the census, 1921, furnishes much more information on the occupations of children and young workers than any other decennial census, it is possible to analyse juvenile employment for that year more fully. It may be emphasized again that the employment figures for 1921 represent both adult and juvenile employment at a depressed level.¹

The figures published show the numbers employed at 10 to 13 years of age inclusive, at 14 years, 15 years, and from 16 to 17 years inclusive. This grouping of ages corresponds roughly with the statutory ages for school attendance and certain kinds of employment and the ages at which there is usually some regulation of the hours or other conditions of labour. Children of 13 and under are required by law to attend school in all the provinces but Quebec and the rural parts of New Brunswick. In Quebec, school attendance is not compulsory but the law prohibits the employment in any trade or business of any child under 16 who cannot read and write. In New Brunswick attendance may be made compulsory up to 16 years of age by by-laws in cities and towns or up to 12 years of age by resolution of a rural school district.² In Prince Edward Island the minimum school-leaving age is 13 and in Nova Scotia, Ontario and the western provinces it is 14 or higher. The minimum age for employment varies from province to province and from one class of industry to another. In no province in Canada is there statutory regulation of the employment of juveniles in agriculture except that indirectly effected by the school attendance laws. The provisions of the laws fixing minimum ages for employment in mines, factories and shops are set out on pages 102, 105 and 121.

Table 11 gives the total number of boys and girls, by ages, in the population and the number employed in 1921 in gainful occupations in the Dominion and in each province.

This table shows that a much larger number of boys than of girls was employed at these ages throughout all the provinces but that the ratio of boys to girls decreases with each older year. More than seven times as many boys as girls were employed in the 10-to-13-year group but at 14 years there were four times as many boys, at 15 years 3 times and at 16 and 17 years the boys were only $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as numerous. The greater number of boys is accounted for to some extent by the predominance of agricultural work among the occupations followed by the younger juveniles as shown in the tables setting out the distribution of juveniles by industries.

¹See pp. 15.

²Attendance is compulsory by statute up to 14 years in Fredericton, St. John, Newcastle, Chatham and Marysville. See section on School Attendance, pp. 96.

TABLE 11.—Number of Juveniles of Each Sex in the Population and the Number in Gainful Occupations, by Provinces, 1921

	10-13 years				14 years				15 years				16-17 years			
	Population		Employed		Population		Employed		Population		Employed		Population		Employed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Canada	371,519	365,061	7,729	1,092	89,387	86,400	16,827	3,918	82,197	81,680	33,518	10,124	165,252	163,100	112,050	42,295
Prince Edward Island.	3,808	3,636	91	27	1,018	933	173	32	932	838	359	57	1,850	1,800	1,247	279
Nova Scotia.....	23,385	22,409	348	81	5,906	5,565	689	170	5,112	5,301	1,533	414	11,021	10,658	6,864	2,344
New Brunswick.....	17,874	17,371	377	66	4,322	4,209	693	151	3,911	3,971	1,326	335	8,089	7,854	5,169	1,543
Quebec.....	110,520	110,761	4,200	561	26,858	26,534	7,653	1,690	25,078	25,543	12,439	3,652	49,534	50,610	35,441	13,306
Ontario.....	112,227	110,058	1,253	199	27,081	26,186	4,334	1,364	25,583	25,211	10,431	4,122	52,250	51,637	35,757	16,786
Manitoba.....	27,002	26,459	354	55	6,445	6,102	904	183	5,726	5,508	2,034	551	11,216	11,133	7,339	2,742
Saskatchewan.....	33,535	32,277	750	71	7,869	7,473	1,623	200	6,733	6,485	3,060	470	13,360	12,471	9,731	2,055
Alberta.....	24,711	23,829	223	16	5,554	5,157	382	39	5,190	4,989	1,374	235	10,116	9,519	6,185	1,483
British Columbia.....	18,457	18,261	133	16	4,334	4,241	376	89	3,932	3,834	962	238	7,816	7,418	4,317	1,757

Table 12 gives the proportion, by age and by sex, of all the juveniles in the Dominion and in each province who were employed in gainful occupations in 1921.

TABLE 12.—Percentage of Juveniles in the Population of the Dominion and of Each Province Employed in Gainful Occupations, by Ages, 1921

	10-13 years			14 years			15 years			16-17 years			10-17 years		
	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total	Male	Fe- male	Total
Canada	2.1	0.3	1.2	18.8	4.5	11.8	40.8	12.4	26.6	67.8	25.9	47.0	24.0	8.2	16.2
Prince Edward Is- land.....	2.4	0.7	1.6	17.0	3.4	10.5	38.5	6.8	23.5	67.4	15.5	41.8	24.6	5.5	15.3
Nova Scotia.....	1.5	0.4	0.9	11.7	3.0	7.5	30.0	7.8	18.7	62.3	22.0	42.5	20.8	6.8	13.9
New Brunswick....	2.1	0.4	1.3	16.0	3.6	9.9	33.9	8.4	21.1	63.9	19.6	42.1	22.1	6.3	14.3
Quebec.....	3.8	0.5	2.1	28.5	6.4	17.5	49.6	14.3	31.8	71.5	26.3	48.7	28.2	9.0	18.6
Ontario.....	1.1	0.2	0.6	16.0	5.2	10.7	40.8	16.3	28.6	68.4	32.5	50.6	25.0	10.5	17.3
Manitoba.....	1.3	0.2	0.8	14.0	3.0	8.7	35.5	10.0	23.0	65.4	24.6	45.1	21.1	7.2	14.2
Saskatchewan.....	2.2	0.2	1.2	20.6	2.7	11.9	45.4	7.2	26.7	72.8	16.5	45.6	24.7	4.8	14.9
Alberta.....	0.9	0.1	0.5	6.9	0.7	3.9	26.5	4.7	15.8	60.8	15.6	38.9	17.9	14.1	11.1
British Columbia...	0.7	0.1	0.4	8.7	2.1	5.4	24.5	7.5	16.1	55.2	23.7	39.9	47.6	6.4	11.7

It appears from the figures in Table 12 that of every 100 boys between 10 and 13 years of age inclusive, in Canada in 1921, 2 were employed and of every 1,000 girls of these ages 3 were employed. The provinces of Quebec, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan had a higher percentage of boys of these ages employed than the average for the Dominion while the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had a higher percentage of girls employed between 10 and 13 years of age inclusive.

At 14 years, a sharp increase in the number and proportion at work marks the statutory school-leaving age and the minimum age for factory employment in most of the provinces at that time. Of all the children 14 years old in Canada in 1921, 11.8 per cent were employed in gainful occupations, 18.8 per cent of all the boys and 4.5 per cent of the girls. There was a wide variation between the proportions employed in different provinces. In Alberta 6.9 per cent of the 14-year-old boys were working for wages or on their parents' farms, in Nova Scotia 11.7 per cent, in Ontario 16 per cent, in Saskatchewan 20.6 per cent and in Quebec 28.5 per cent. The smaller proportion of girls of 14 years employed varied from 0.7 per cent in Alberta to 6.4 per cent in Quebec. All the provinces but Quebec and Saskatchewan fell below the Dominion average for employed boys and all but Quebec and Ontario fell below the average for employed girls.

At 15 years of age, the western and eastern provinces do not show such widely varying proportions of juveniles at work. Employment in factories and shops was everywhere in Canada permitted at not later than 15 years in 1921 and school attendance was no longer compulsory, but in the cities and towns of Nova Scotia work permits were required by law for children under 16 who had not attained a certain educational standard. The greater number of employment opportunities for girls of 15 and upwards is reflected in the increased proportion of employed girls of these ages. In this age group, Alberta has the smallest proportion employed, with Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan showing proportions above the average for the Dominion. Ontario has the largest proportion, 16.3 per cent, of 15-year-old girls employed while the Ontario figure for boys is the Dominion average.

Of the boys 16 and 17 years of age in Canada, 67.8 per cent were employed in gainful occupations. Of the girls of the same ages, 25.9 per cent were employed. Saskatchewan, Quebec and Ontario had the highest proportions of boys of these ages at work while Ontario and Quebec had the largest proportions of girls employed.

Table 13 indicates the distribution of juvenile labour throughout the provinces in 1921 and permits a comparison to be made with the distribution of all the gainfully occupied persons in each province.

TABLE 13.—Percentage Distribution of Gainfully Occupied Persons and of Employed Juveniles by Provinces, 1921

	All ages	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	16 and 17 years
Canada	100	100	100	100	100
Prince Edward Island.....	1.0	1.3	1.0	0.9	1.0
Nova Scotia.....	5.8	4.9	4.1	4.5	6.0
New Brunswick.....	4.2	5.0	4.1	3.8	4.3
Quebec.....	24.8	54.0	45.0	36.9	31.6
Ontario.....	35.2	16.5	27.5	33.3	34.0
Manitoba.....	6.8	4.6	5.2	5.9	6.5
Saskatchewan.....	8.4	9.3	8.8	8.1	7.6
Alberta.....	6.8	2.7	2.0	3.7	5.0
British Columbia.....	6.9	1.7	2.2	2.9	3.9

Over one-half the employed children, 10 to 13 years of age inclusive, in 1921 were in Quebec and about one-sixth in Ontario. Comparing the provincial distribution of these children with the distribution of all persons in gainful occupations, we find the provinces of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec and Saskatchewan with a larger proportion of workers under 14 than their proportion of gainfully occupied persons of all ages. These four provinces had over 69 per cent of the employed children 10 to 13 years of age inclusive, while of all persons in gainful occupations they had over 48 per cent. From Table 11, it appears that 44.7 per cent of all the children in Canada from 10 to 13 years inclusive were living in these four provinces.

The effect of the attainment of the school-leaving age and of the removal of restrictions on factory employment at 14 years, as in force in 1921 in Ontario,¹ is again to be noted in the sharply increased proportion, 27.5 per cent, of juveniles of 14 years employed in Ontario in 1921 as compared with the proportion, 16.5 per cent, of the younger children employed in this province. With each older year the proportion of young workers more closely approximates to the proportion in each province of all the gainfully occupied persons in Canada.

Table 14 shows the proportion that the number of employed juveniles formed of all the gainfully occupied persons in the Dominion and in each province in 1921.

TABLE 14.—Proportion of Juveniles among all Gainfully Occupied Persons in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

(Total number of persons in gainful occupations in Dominion and in each province=100)

	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	16-17 years
Canada	0.3	0.6	1.4	4.9
Prince Edward Island.....	0.4	0.7	1.3	4.9
Nova Scotia.....	0.2	0.5	1.0	5.0
New Brunswick.....	0.3	0.6	1.2	5.0
Quebec.....	0.6	1.2	2.0	6.2
Ontario.....	0.1	0.5	1.3	4.7
Manitoba.....	0.2	0.5	1.2	4.6
Saskatchewan.....	0.3	0.7	1.3	4.4
Alberta.....	0.1	0.2	0.7	3.5
British Columbia.....	0.1	0.2	0.6	2.8

The figures in this table indicate that among each thousand persons gainfully occupied in Canada in 1921 there were 3 children under 14 years of age. Juveniles 14 years old were employed at the rate of 6½ for every 1,000 gainfully occupied persons, 15-year-olds at the rate of 14 for every 1,000 and young persons of 16 and 17 years numbered 49 for every 1,000 persons in gainful occupations. That is, for every 1,000 persons in gainful occupations in

¹Adolescent School Attendance Act required attendance up to 16 years from September 1, 1921.

Canada in 1921, 23 were under 16 years of age. Excluding those employed in agriculture, the proportion of children under 16 among the working population of Canada was 17 per 1,000. In the United States in 1920 this proportion was 13 per 1,000.¹

It should be remembered in any consideration of the proportion of juveniles to adults in occupations, that the number of persons gainfully occupied as recorded at the census includes many occupations in which no, or very few, juveniles of these ages are found. For example, 263,455 of all those in gainful occupations are in professional work such as law, medicine, education, etc., while 176,500 are employed by the federal, provincial and municipal governments. The number of children under 14 in such occupations is negligible and there are comparatively few young workers up to 18 years of age. There are also numerous persons occupying positions that are in no way comparable with the work performed by juveniles in the same industries. Thus, owners, managers, superintendents and other officials of industrial and mercantile concerns are numbered, of course, among the gainfully occupied persons, but the juveniles employed in these businesses are properly comparable only with the wage-earners or general office workers. No juveniles under 15 are office employees except messengers or parcel boys and girls. Young persons of 15 and upwards may be clerical workers of an elementary kind. A more satisfactory presentation of the situation can be made by an analysis of the employment of juveniles according to occupations.

Table 15 sets out the numbers of boys and girls in gainful occupations in 1921 in Canada and in each province by industries.

¹Children in Gainful Occupations at the Fourteenth Census of the United States, Washington, 1924, p. 23.

TABLE 15.—Number of Boys and Girls Employed in Gainful Occupations in Canada, by Industries, 1921

	10-13 years			14 years			15 years			16-17 years		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All industries.....	7,729	1,092	8,821	16,827	3,918	20,745	33,518	10,124	43,642	112,050	42,295	154,345
Agriculture.....	6,257	4	6,261	10,874	19	10,893	19,387	116	19,503	56,311	273	56,589
Logging, fishing and trapping.....	184	2	186	346	1	347	643	2	645	2,852	5	2,857
Mining and quarrying.....	33	—	33	130	6	136	353	2	355	1,690	17	1,707
Manufacturing.....	462	218	680	2,240	1,488	3,728	5,702	4,158	9,860	19,961	14,224	34,185
Construction.....	41	—	41	284	1	285	720	10	730	3,545	68	3,613
Transportation.....	62	7	69	347	38	385	923	273	1,196	5,195	2,408	7,603
Trade.....	314	64	378	1,309	354	1,663	2,613	1,283	3,896	8,747	6,223	14,970
Finance.....	17	1	18	89	6	95	363	86	449	2,556	1,033	3,589
Service.....	155	778	933	453	1,915	2,368	1,266	3,916	5,182	5,081	16,005	21,086
Unspecified.....	204	18	222	755	90	845	1,548	278	1,826	6,112	2,034	8,146

AGRICULTURE

The predominance of agriculture among the industries employing juveniles is apparent from this table. Of the 7,729 boys between 10 and 13 years reported at the census, 1921, as gainfully employed, 6,257 or 80.9 per cent were in agriculture. The number employed increases with each year of age but the proportion absorbed by agricultural work declines to 64.6 per cent at 14 years, 57.8 per cent at 15 years, 52.6 per cent at 16 years and to 48.2 per cent at 17 years. The percentage is, naturally, considerably lower if girls are included in the comparison.

Further analysis of the census report shows that in 1921 there were 1,994 boys 14 years old, 3,809 boys 15 years old and 12,413 boys 16 and 17 years of age working as farm labourers, that is, boys working elsewhere than on their parents' farms. Farm labourers recorded at the census included also 913 boys under 14 years of age. Of this number 314 were in Quebec, 298 in Ontario, 71 in Manitoba, 68 in Saskatchewan, 56 in New Brunswick, 43 in Nova Scotia, 27 in each of Alberta and British Columbia and 9 in Prince Edward Island. Employment as hired labourers is very different from work under parental direction and the hours may be long and the tasks heavy for children of these ages. Children are more frequently hired for work in connection with such special crops as the various fruits and potatoes, tomatoes, onions, sugar beets, tobacco and so on, than for work on dairy or grain farms. They may be hired individually or as members of a family of several children. It is probable, too, that some of the children working on farms, other than their parents', were not of native birth but had been brought to Canada by immigration aid societies and placed on farms. The Annual Report of the Dominion Supervisor of Juvenile Immigration for 1922-23 states that there were under supervision during that year 765 children under 14 years of age. The delegation appointed by the British Government to obtain information regarding the system of child migration and settlement in Canada in 1924 recommended that, except in the case of children accompanying their parents, Government assistance should be confined in the future to children who had reached the school-leaving age in the United Kingdom before leaving for Canada. This recommendation has been adopted by the Canadian Department of Immigration.

A large percentage of the boys working on farms in Canada in 1921 were, however, on their home farms. The census report shows 43,094 boys of 16 and 17 years of age, 15,571 boys 15 years old and 8,877 boys 14 years old spending the "major portion of their time" on their parents' farms. There were also 5,343 farm boys between 10 and 13 years of age reported to the census enumerators as working at home. There is no information regarding the children under 10 years of age who are employed about farms in Canada. In addition to those recorded by the census enumerators, there is without doubt, a much larger number of children of school age whose work at home is not sufficient to justify them being classed with those who are gainfully employed "for the major portion of their time" but whose school attendance is seriously affected by seasonal work on the farm. Children may be engaged intermittently in general agricultural work including ploughing, seeding, harrowing, gathering in crops, herding cattle and caring for live-stock, but they are frequently absent from school for continuous periods to plant and hoe potatoes and to plant, weed and thin other vegetables and to gather fruit and vegetables.

Rural industries other than agriculture contribute to the neglect of schooling. A school inspector in northern New Brunswick reported for the year 1926-27:

"A deplorable state of affairs exists in some parishes where whole families spend the winter in the lumber camps, the children being thereby deprived of school privileges for nearly half a year."¹

As to the effect of farm work on the health of children, one writer states:

"The relation of farm work to the health and physical development of children is difficult to trace, so many factors enter into deficient health and growth; but that so many farm children suffer ill effects from overwork, from doing work too hard or too prolonged, from tasks that require a continual stooping posture (such as hoeing and binding corn, hoeing and digging potatoes or setting up the corn after the plough) from exposure and wet clothing in bad weather is not to be denied. . . . The common belief in the country that farm work is the certain road to good physical development and health is hardly justified by the facts. Comparison of city and country health statistics does not support it. More children in the rural than in the urban schools

¹Annual Report by Chief Superintendent of Education, p. 82.

have physical defects and ailments. . . . Health examinations of more than a million school children in New York State show that 72 per cent of pupils in city schools and 87 per cent of pupils in rural schools have health defects."¹

The provincial distribution of the juveniles engaged in farm work at home in 1921 is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.—Number of Juveniles Employed on Home Farms in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	16-17 years
Canada	5,343	8,877	15,571	43,094
Prince Edward Island.....	68	111	212	708
Nova Scotia.....	152	224	482	1,587
New Brunswick.....	248	379	631	1,978
Quebec.....	3,014	4,440	6,387	14,600
Ontario.....	722	1,631	3,661	10,982
Manitoba.....	257	526	1,051	3,368
Saskatchewan.....	650	1,217	2,192	6,122
Alberta.....	178	254	811	3,196
British Columbia.....	54	95	144	553

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN RURAL DISTRICTS

The early compulsory school attendance laws in Canada distinguished between children in rural districts and children of the same age in urban communities, and in some provinces at the present time the statutory requirements as to attendance are lower in the country districts. Distances from school in sparsely settled areas coupled with poor roads had some influence in determining that rural children should be required to attend school for a shorter period but the need for assistance on the farm was recognized by the school laws and in some provinces the minimum age for school leaving was, and is, lower for country children. In all the provinces, there are districts where the children are few and far apart and for this reason or because of the cost or climatic or other conditions, the board of school trustees may not cause the school to be open throughout the whole school year. This statement applies more particularly, but to a steadily decreasing extent, to the western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia but it is true to a certain extent also in the Maritime Provinces and in Quebec and Ontario.

The school law in Prince Edward Island permits school districts to choose at what season of the year they will have vacations. Rural schools may have three weeks in May and October for seed-time and harvest and one week in July or December, or a vacation of six weeks beginning in July and two weeks in October, or two-teacher schools and larger may have eight weeks in summer and one in December. In the three Maritime Provinces, there was in 1921 a lower legislative standard of school attendance for rural districts, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick a lower school-leaving age for country schools and in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick a shorter term. Further, in 1921, attendance at rural schools in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was compulsory only at the option of the school district. In that year attendance was made compulsory by statute in Nova Scotia and in 1923 rural districts in Nova Scotia were given authority to raise the age for school-leaving to that established for cities and towns. The Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia stated in his report for 1926-27:—

"A serious defect in our educational machinery and one calling for immediate remedy, is the non-enforcement of the Compulsory Attendance Act in the rural parts of the province. This is usually due to the failure of school boards to appoint attendance officers. Even when appointed, such officers are disinclined to act in their own neighbourhood. Under the statute, it is true, the council of any municipality may appoint a municipal attendance officer on the request of a majority of the sections, but this provision is a dead-letter. With the enlarged unit, however, it would be more feasible to regard the municipality as a whole and to appoint officers to enforce the Act, free from local or personal influences. It may be pointed out, also, that the

¹Fuller, *Child Labour and the Constitution*, New York, 1923, pp. 40-42.

Council of Public Instruction has power under this Act to appoint a chief school attendance officer, whose duty it should be to direct the enforcement of the Act throughout the province. It is strongly urged that such appointment be made. That any child should fail to secure its inalienable right to a public school education through the neglect of its parents or the community at large, is a denial of the first principle of equality of opportunity. We owe it to ourselves, as a people, to see that the province be entirely free from the stigma of illiteracy and the social evils that follow in its train."

The specific exemption accorded to a child under 14 whose services are urgently required in husbandry or in household duties or for the maintenance of himself or others for a period not to exceed six weeks under the present laws in Manitoba and Ontario, and in Saskatchewan and Alberta to one under 15 years, operates mainly to permit farm children to work at home during the busy season. In Ontario rural districts, children over 14 and under 16 may absent themselves from school for work at home without procuring a permit from the school attendance officer as is required in urban districts.

Table 17 shows the proportion of children, 7 to 14, and young persons, 15 to 19 years of age¹ in rural and urban areas not at school during the school year 1920-21, by provinces. The higher age period is included in the table as it indicates the attendance of boys and girls above the normal age for elementary schools but still in attendance at such schools in both rural and urban areas, together with the attendance at secondary schools, more particularly in urban communities. Figures for the single years from 15 to 19 show a slower falling off in school attendance in rural districts than in towns and villages. The more rapid decline in urban centres indicates the different conditions of employment in town and country. Boys and girls in the country may help at home before and after school and at busy seasons while attending school for the rest of the term but many juveniles in cities and towns take up full-time employment as soon as they have reached the statutory school-leaving age.

TABLE 17.—Percentage of Juveniles, 7-14 and 15-19 Years of Age in Rural and Urban Areas not at School during year 1920-21, by Provinces.*

	7-14 years		15-19 years	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Canada	7.5	13.8	69.7	80.1
Prince Edward Island.....	8.7	12.7	62.1	75.0
Nova Scotia.....	8.2	15.8	68.5	74.6
New Brunswick.....	8.9	19.8	68.7	78.6
Quebec.....	10.3	16.5	75.8	87.1
Ontario.....	6.3	10.3	69.3	79.1
Manitoba.....	4.2	13.2	63.8	77.1
Saskatchewan.....	4.9	13.5	60.5	80.9
Alberta.....	5.2	13.1	56.9	73.6
British Columbia.....	5.1	10.1	61.2	69.8

*In part from Illiteracy and School Attendance in Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1926, p. 97.

The greatest problem in connection with school attendance concerns, however, not the children who do not attend at all but those who attend irregularly or for a part of the year only. The proportion of the children, 7 to 14 years of age, enrolled in rural and urban schools, who attended for seven or more months during the school year 1920-1921 is shown in Table 18:—

	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
Rural.....	84.0	74.9	79.8	72.2	91.9	90.8	84.2	67.3	69.9	92.5
Urban.....	96.6	95.0	96.7	96.8	96.8	96.6	96.8	95.4	96.4	96.6

¹In referring to ages of school children, the figures do not include the last-named year. That is, children 7 to 14 years of age are children from their seventh birthday to their fourteenth, not children over 14 years of age.

In some of the newer school districts of Saskatchewan and Alberta, schools are not open during the winter months but operate throughout the summer. School attendance at such schools during the nine months' period prior to June 1, 1921, which the census figures cover, could hardly exceed seven and one-half months. To what extent the figures for these provinces should be modified on this account is not known.

Finally, the proportion of all children 7 to 14 years of age in the rural and urban population who attended school for seven or more months in 1920-21 is given in Table 19:—

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
Rural.....	72.3	65.4	67.2	57.9	80.4	81.4	73.0	58.2	60.7	83.0
Urban.....	89.3	86.7	88.7	88.1	85.8	90.4	92.8	90.7	91.4	91.7

Table 17 indicates that, according to the census figures, in the provinces of New Brunswick, Quebec and Nova Scotia there was a higher percentage of rural children, 7 to 14 years of age, not attending school than the Dominion average. In New Brunswick, out of every 100 country children from 7 to 14 years of age, nearly 20 were not at school at all during the year 1920-21. In Quebec, out of every 100 rural children of these ages $16\frac{1}{2}$ were not at school and in Nova Scotia nearly 16. The difference between the percentage of rural and urban children at school in New Brunswick is particularly high. In the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, the proportion of the children enrolled in rural schools who attended seven months or more fell below the average for the Dominion. As pointed out above, some modification of the Saskatchewan and Alberta figures should be made. Moreover, in these provinces, as in Manitoba, with their sparsely settled areas and the pioneer nature of many of the settlements, with schools remote and labour scarce, school attendance is probably affected adversely to a further extent by the character of the population. Over 36 per cent of the people over 10 years of age in Saskatchewan in 1921 were foreign-born while over 39 per cent of the population over 10 years of age in Alberta were foreign-born.¹ A comparison of the 1921 figures with those for 1911 and the annual reports of the provincial Departments of Education subsequent to the census of 1921 points to a steady and rapid improvement in the provision for school facilities and in school attendance in these provinces. British Columbia, Quebec and Ontario show a relatively high percentage of attendance of enrolled children in country districts.

The figures, however, which most truly reveal conditions as to school attendance are those in Table 19, showing the proportion of children in the population who attended school for seven or more months of the year or for an effective period. In New Brunswick only 57.9 per cent of the rural children were at school more than seven months in 1920-21; in Prince Edward Island 65.4 per cent attended for a minimum of seven months and in Nova Scotia 67.2 per cent. In these provinces, the rural population at these ages exceeds the urban, the number of children in rural areas being almost four times as great in Prince Edward Island, two and one-half times in New Brunswick and one and one-third times in Nova Scotia. As pointed out above, in the three Maritime Provinces the statutory requirements as to school attendance were lower in rural districts than in urban communities in 1921 and this condition is reflected in the greater difference between the proportions of rural and urban children at school for an effective period of the school year than in any of the other provinces, excepting Saskatchewan and Alberta.

While the report of the census, 1921, indicates that there is room for considerable improvement in the matter of school attendance in all the provinces and more especially in the rural sections, it should be borne in mind that the provincial reports since 1921 show that increased attention is being devoted to the problem and that through the appointment of school attendance officers and a stricter enforcement of the law, conditions have been steadily improving. The problem varies from province to province according to the character of the population, its racial origins, educational standards and economic condition as well as the geographic, climatic and industrial conditions obtaining in different sections. School reports, however, indicate that children are kept at home to help about the farm. The Provincial School Attendance Officer of Ontario stated in his report for the year 1927:—

¹See Illiteracy and School Attendance in Canada, a Study of the Census of 1921, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1926.

"A detailed survey of conditions adversely affecting attendance shows the following main causes, in the order of their priority, viz: (1) ill-health, (2) sporadic and seasonal employment in rural areas, (3) weather and road conditions, (4) parental apathy and (5) indigence."

In his report for 1928, employment at home is stated to be the cause of 32 per cent of the irregular attendance at rural schools:—

"Serious inroads on attendance are made by emergent conditions on the farms, to meet which the help of the school child is invoked. Farm life has radically changed in the last decade. The machine age is upon us, the 'hired man' has largely disappeared, and hand-help at urgent times must fall upon the school girl and boy. Ontario is peculiarly situated in this respect. The simple and more uniform procedure of grain growing in summer, and wood-cutting in winter has given place to specialized production such as truck-farming and sugar-beet, potato, tobacco, tomato and fruit culture on a farm-wide scale. These demand concentrated effort during a few weeks to plant and especially to harvest the crop without loss, and, in his dilemma, the farmer turns to the growing child for available help."

In all the provinces, certain areas are devoted to specialized crops in connection with which juveniles, particularly young children, can be more useful than in the dairying and grain-growing districts. Potatoes in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, sugar-beets in Ontario and southern Alberta, onions, tomatoes and other fruits and vegetables in Nova Scotia, Ontario and the Okanagan district of British Columbia and on Vancouver Island and tobacco in Ontario and Quebec are among the particular crops affecting the school attendance of children in Canada. The annual report of a school inspector for an Ontario county for 1927 contains the following comment:—

"During the months of September and October the attendance in the school is low. This is due principally to the fact that work may be had in the canning factories, and that tomatoes must reach these factories. One remedy which has been suggested, is a change in the holiday period."

Another inspector in Ontario reported for 1928:—

"Crops such as sugar beets and tobacco have created a demand for child labour and in some sections the schools are almost disorganized during the harvesting of these crops. This might not be so serious, if pupils returned promptly when the work is finished, but when children get in the habit of attending irregularly it is much more difficult to secure regular attendance."

Still another Ontario school inspector points out:—

"All these crops (tomatoes, tobacco, sugar-beets and onions) require labour that can be and in part is done by children, resulting in considerable loss of time from school."

The result of irregular attendance appears in the poor progress made by such children in school work, their lack of interest in and dislike of it and, finally, leaving school before they have completed the elementary grades. A survey of retarded children in Cincinnati finds that "failure in school is a more compelling motive than economic pressure in sending them into industry."¹ Retardation may be due to other causes than poor attendance but the direct relation between the two is obvious. Juveniles who perform a reasonable amount of farm work suited to their years and under the supervision of their parents may be undergoing a valuable training in habits of industry and in agricultural work. Where such work does not interfere with school attendance up to an age when such attendance is no longer profitable or economically possible, it may be desirable and may provide the vocational training required for those who expect to become farmers.

In connection with the employment of children on farms and the distinction made in the school attendance laws between children living in rural districts and children living in cities, towns or villages, the following extracts from the Final Report of a Committee of the British Board of Education on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War² are pertinent:—

"Agriculture is essentially from top to bottom a skilled industry, and if there is to be an agricultural revival in England, one of the most potent means for bringing it about must be an improved education, resulting both in a higher degree of farming ability and in a higher conception of the possibilities of village life. Of this, those who most desire the revival are the most firmly convinced. We are glad to find that most of the agricultural witnesses who have appeared before us, while fully realiz-

¹Retardation in Cincinnati Public Elementary Schools. Trounstone Foundation. Cincinnati.

²Cd. 8512, 1917.

ing the special difficulties that will attend progress in rural areas, hold firm to the faith in equality of educational conditions as the essential objective.....we desire to call special attention to the resolutions placed before us on behalf of the County Councils Association, who are perhaps in closer touch than any other body with the problems of rural education. This Association would raise the school-leaving age to 14 in all areas, urban and rural. It would require attendance at Continuation Schools up to the age of 18 in all urban areas, and it recognizes that there is most urgent need for further education between the ages of 14 and 18 in rural districts, and although it does not consider it practicable to require that Continuation Classes shall be universally provided in those areas, suggests that County Education authorities should be obliged to extend the proposed provisions for Continuation Schools to rural districts wherever possible. This is an important pronouncement which, in view of the thoroughly representative character of the Association, by no means a purely educational body, must be held to mark a distinct advance in rural opinion. . . .

"Over the greater part of the country, specialization is not likely to go much further, between 14 and 16, than this. But areas differ, and where there is a single predominant industry in an area, which most of the children will as a matter of course enter, there will be a natural tendency for the character of that industry to colour the instruction from the very beginning. Education, after all, must be based upon environment, and in such areas the industry is the central feature of the environment. This principle will have a special application in rural districts. It will not, as a rule, be possible to arrange more than two courses, one for boys and one for girls, in a rural village. The girls will require instruction in household and other practical subjects just as much as, or more than, in the towns, although upon somewhat different lines. And both for boys and for girls it will be both natural and right that the whole curriculum should relate itself to the rural atmosphere, just as it will relate itself to an artisan or a commercial atmosphere in a manufacturing town or a seaport. It is true, as we have already pointed out, that when they become adults many children brought up in villages will find their way to the towns. This is largely because the conditions of country life are not what they should be; the opportunities for betterment are too few, and for many youths farm work is a blind alley. But we are convinced that these conditions could and should be changed. Developing a rural atmosphere in the elementary schools should assist in checking the migration from the country, and this will be all to the good. We advocate no change in our methods of instruction which would unfit those who leave the country for town life or which would in any way curtail their opportunities—far from it, we believe that these changes will make more useful citizens of the rising generation, and give them a wider and a sounder outlook upon life."

LOGGING, FISHING AND TRAPPING

The census report shows that there were employed in 1921 in the fishing industry 130 boys under 14 years of age, 219 at 14 years old, 306 at 15 and 1,254 at 16 or 17 years old. That is, 655 under 16 and 1,909 under 18. The lumber industry gave employment to 42 under 14, 115 who were 14, 312 who were 15 and 1,598 over 16 and under 18. All but 108 of these were shantymen. There were 77 river drivers and 31 office employees.

The great majority of the juveniles in logging and fishing were employed in the eastern and central provinces, 984 of those in the fisheries being in Nova Scotia, 148 in New Brunswick, 482 in Quebec and 102 in Ontario. The juveniles employed in logging included 138 in Nova Scotia, 352 in New Brunswick, 942 in Quebec and 355 in Ontario.

Hunters and trappers enumerated included 12 boys under 14, 12 at 14 years of age, 25 at 15 and 64 between 16 and 18 years of age, the majority of whom were living in Saskatchewan.

In none of the provinces is there legislation regulating the employment of juveniles in logging operations or in fishing or trapping. School attendance laws limit such employment to some extent.

MINING AND QUARRYING

The annual report on Mineral Production in Canada compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicates not only that mining operations were considerably curtailed during the year 1921 as compared with previous years but that production increased tremendously in the succeeding years and is likely to continue to increase rapidly in the future. The greatest development has occurred in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, although all the provinces show an increase. According to this report the average number of those employed in mines in Canada was 49,846 in

1921 and 64,292 in 1927. The number employed in quarries is not included in these figures. Unfortunately, there are no statistics to show the number of juveniles employed since 1921.

All the mining laws,¹ except those of New Brunswick and Manitoba, restrict the employment of young persons in some manner. In the former province there are no provisions concerning labour of any kind. The amendment of 1927 to the Manitoba Mines Act enables the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to issue regulations regarding the age and sex of persons who may be employed and the number of hours of labour in or about a mine. No such order in council has yet been passed. Provincial legislation on juvenile employment in mines is dealt with in Part III of this publication.² The only changes that have been made since 1921 are the raising of the minimum age for employment in Nova Scotia and for employment in the surface workings of mines in Alberta. Boys under 16 were prohibited from working about coal mines in Nova Scotia in 1923, and in 1927 the same age was fixed as the minimum for work in metal mines. In Alberta, a statute of 1930 raises the minimum age for employment above ground from 14 to 16.

Table 20 shows the number of male persons and of boys of certain ages employed in the mining and quarrying industries in Canada in 1921:—

TABLE 20.—Number of Men and Boys Employed in Mining and Quarrying in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages.....	50,860	15,350	801	4,363	9,378	339	383	9,148	11,089
10-13 years.....	33	11	.....	16	2	.....	.....	1	3
14 years.....	130	52	5	37	20	1	1	6	8
15 years.....	353	164	10	66	20	1	6	39	47
10-15 years.....	516	227	15	119	42	2	7	46	58
16-17 years.....	1,690	811	37	228	158	1	10	216	229
10-17 years.....	2,206	1,038	52	347	200	3	17	282	287

Of the 50,860 men and boys working about mines and quarries in 1921, 3,626 were employed in quarries, 607 were working about oil and gas wells and 174 in connection with salt works. Coal mines employed at least 22,822 men and boys, of whom 872 were under 18 years of age, and 158 under 16. "Labourers in mines" are grouped together in the census figures and it is impossible to tell how many of these were working in coal mines. There were 9,713 such labourers and of these, 17 were under 14 years of age, 220 were 14 or 15 and 606 were 16 or 17 years old. The "coal mine operatives" were distributed through Nova Scotia, where there were 110 under 16 and 484 over 16 and under 18, Alberta where those under 16 numbered 14 and those 16 and 17 years old 102, and British Columbia, where there were 21 boys under 16 and 102, 16 or 17 years of age. The raising of the minimum age for work about mines in Nova Scotia noted above will have reduced the number of juveniles under 16 employed in that province.

The hazardous nature of mining does not need to be emphasized and in most of the provinces has been recognized by the establishment of a higher statutory minimum age than has been fixed for other industrial employment. Hours of labour underground are restricted by statute to eight hours a day in Alberta and British Columbia and in coal mines in Nova Scotia. The same limitation is imposed on the working hours underground of boys under 18 in Quebec mines, and of miners in the unorganized districts of Ontario. It is in these parts of the province of Ontario that the largest mining operations are carried on. Only in British Columbia are hours of labour above ground limited by statute.

Juveniles who start work in mines may continue to work there and not shift from one job to another as in other kinds of industrial employment but this depends on the character of the community in which they live, the steadiness of employment in the mining industry and the opportunities for other work such as agriculture or factory employment.

¹There are no mines in Prince Edward Island.

²See pp. 102-104.

MANUFACTURES

Of all the industries in Canada, with the exception of agriculture, manufacturing employs the largest number of juveniles. There were 14,268 juveniles, 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, or 1.3 per cent of all juveniles of these ages, employed in factories in 1921, and 34,185 above that age and under 18 years. As previously stated, the census of 1921 was taken at a time of industrial depression and these figures are, in all probability, lower than similar figures for 1920 or succeeding years. Unfortunately, statistics by ages are not available for other years.

There have, however, been certain factors tending to restrict the number of juveniles in industrial and mercantile employment. The stricter enforcement of school attendance laws and the tendency in times of prosperity to keep children at school to a higher age have been referred to. It seems evident that the establishment of minimum rates of wages for various classes of female employees in the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario¹ has tended to decrease the proportion of younger girls employed in the industries covered by the minimum wage orders. Such regulations were issued in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia prior to 1921 and in Alberta and Ontario since that year. In some cases the actual number of employed girls under 18 has declined but where there has been an expansion in the industry, the number may have increased while the proportion has decreased. For example, in textile factories in Ontario, the number of girls under 18 reported to the Minimum Wage Board as employed in 1922 was 2,244. In 1928, the number had increased to 2,352 but the proportion that these workers formed of the total number of girls and women employed in textile mills had declined from 23.3 to 15.6 per cent. The Ontario Adolescent School Attendance Act compelling school attendance up to 16 years of age, in force from September 1, 1921, would operate also to reduce the number of those under 16 in factories in Ontario and is, no doubt, the cause of some of the decline in the textile factories. There is not sufficient information to enable a definite statement to be made as to the effect of the minimum wage laws on the employment of younger girls but when employers are required to pay a fixed minimum wage they are likely to demand more efficient workers.

It is generally accepted that work in factories should be entirely prohibited to children below a certain age. What age should be established as a minimum is not so generally agreed upon. The term "child labour" is usually interpreted to mean the work for pay of children under 14. With the increasing knowledge of the health hazards of modern industry, child welfare organizations are recommending that wherever a child of 14 is permitted to work in an industrial establishment, such employment should be permitted

"only after he has passed an examination as to physical fitness and only under supervision which will ensure types of work and conditions of employment adjusted to his needs."²

"Modern industry makes a wholly new sort of demand upon the efficiency of labour. Under a program of mass production only the most vigorous and efficient can survive, as is indicated in the early age at which industrial workers now find themselves unfitted for their tasks. Everything tends towards a shorter and more intensive industrial life; but such an industrial life, like an athletic competition, requires training. A civilization which permits the energies of its younger generation to be sapped before their period of maximum production is wasting its most valuable asset."³

The suitability of factory employment for older juveniles varies from one industry to another and from one plant to another within the same industry. Factories may be well heated, lighted and ventilated or they may be poorly constructed and ill-kept; hours of labour range from eight to ten a day or longer and from 44 a week to 60 or more; substances handled may be harmless or poisonous; the air may be free from dust, fumes or gases or the manufacturing process may generate these to a greater or less degree and efforts to remove them may or may not be effective; juveniles may be employed on tasks not involving heavy work or exposure to dangerous machinery or to injurious dusts, fumes or gases or they may tend any machine or carry on any work within their power. Finally, they may be employed as apprentices or learners or they may work as labourers where there is little or no opportunity to learn the different processes and so become skilled workers.

¹ First order issued in Quebec in 1927; Nova Scotia Board has not yet issued any orders and New Brunswick Act of 1930 is to come into force on proclamation.

² W. R. P. Emerson, Professor of Children's Diseases, Tufts College Medical School, in *The Doctor Looks at Child Labour*. National Child Labour Committee, New York, 1929.

³ C.-E. A. Winslow, Yale University School of Medicine, in *The Doctor Looks at Child Labour*, National Child Labour Committee, New York, 1929.

Canadian factory legislation is dealt with in Part III of this publication.¹ It is sufficient here to state that the factory laws of Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario prohibit the employment of children under 14 years of age. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan the minimum ages are 14 for boys and 15 for girls and in Alberta and British Columbia, no child under 15 may be so employed. The only change that has been made in the minimum age legislation since the census was taken in 1921 was the raising in 1923 of the age for boys in factories in British Columbia from 14 to 15. The Factory Act of New Brunswick does not prohibit the employment of children. Prince Edward Island is almost entirely an agricultural province and has enacted no factory law. The definition of a "factory" varies from one province to another and exceptions are made in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia for the canning industry. There is a certain degree of regulation of the employment of "youths," the maximum protected age ranging from 14 for boys in New Brunswick to 16 in the other provinces except Quebec where the age is 18. Similar protection is given to girls under 18 in all the provinces. Restrictions on the work of young persons are practically confined, however, to those laid down in the original factory legislation of the eighties in Ontario and Quebec, and consist in the prohibition of the cleaning by young workers of machinery while it is in motion or the working between the fixed and traversing parts of self-acting machines. Sections of the factory laws enabling the regulation by order in council of the work of young persons in dangerous trades have never been utilized except in Quebec. The provision of the Quebec statute for medical examination of employed juveniles is a dead letter.² The limitation of the hours of labour of women and young persons to ten a day and 60 a week in the eastern provinces³ has been modified in the western provinces. The statutory limits in Manitoba and Alberta are nine a day and 54 a week, in Saskatchewan 48 a week, and in British Columbia eight a day and 48 a week. In all provinces exemptions are permitted from the restriction regarding hours for a limited period.

There is a general clause in all the provincial statutes stipulating that young persons⁴ shall not be employed so that their health is liable to be injured. Such a provision gives wide powers to factory inspectors but requires expert knowledge for its application, particularly in such hazardous industries as those involving the use of poisonous substances. None of the provincial factory laws requires that industrial establishments shall be inspected by physicians or medical officers of health. In all the provinces but New Brunswick, the factory inspector is authorized to take with him into any factory a medical practitioner or medical officer of health or sanitary inspector. This provision, however, is merely permissive. Factories are within the jurisdiction of the provincial health authorities in all the provinces but the inspection and regulation of these work-places appear to be left entirely to the factory inspectorate.

A committee of business and professional citizens of Montreal sponsored in 1928 a health survey of the city of Montreal by a technical committee whose findings they endorsed.⁵ The recommendations of this committee which are of interest in connection with the employment of juveniles in factories, are as follows:—

- "1. Reporting of occupational diseases by physicians to the Department of Health.
- "2. Regular and thorough inspection of factories with follow-up inspectors and physicians of the Department of Health, from a sanitary standpoint.
- "3. No child under 18 years of age⁶ to be employed without having had a medical examination and secured a certificate permitting his employment at certain work. Such examinations could be made by the physicians of the Department of Health on Saturday mornings. The examinations should be of a uniform standard, and have as their object to prevent the child from over-taxing his strength. The physicians must, therefore, know the normal development of the child, his capacity for work without overstrain, and the work called for in various occupations, in order to be able to issue a proper certificate."

¹See pp. 104-121.

²See p. 121.

³There appears to be no limitation on normal hours of labour of young persons in Nova Scotia. See pp. 114-115 of this publication. A Quebec statute of 1930 reduces the maximum weekly hours for factory employment from 60 to 55.

⁴"Any person" in certain provinces. See p. 120.

⁵Montreal Health Survey Committee; Lord Atholstan, E. W. Beatty, K.C., Lyon Cohen, Louis S. Colwell, Sir Arthur W. Currie, E. R. Decary, Hon. P. R. Du Tremblay, M.L.C., J. T. Foster, J. A. Franceur, Sir Charles Gordon, Louis de Lotbinière Harwood, M.D., Sir Herbert S. Holt, Beaudry Leman, C. F. Martin, M.D., J. W. McConnell, Edouard Montpetit, Hon. J. L. Peron, K.C., Hon. Donat Raymond.

⁶In the English edition of Report, age is given as 13. This is an error, according to letter received by Department of Labour from Dr. A. Grant Fleming, McGill University, member of technical committee.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

It is hardly necessary to point out that there may be a wide difference between statutes enacted and statutes enforced. Under all the provincial factory laws, inspectors to enforce their provisions have been appointed. No attempt has been made in this analysis to enquire into the effectiveness of the enforcement of the law in any of the provinces except when information is available from some local authority.

Tables 21 and 22 show the numerical and percentage distribution, by provinces, of the juveniles employed in factories, together with the distribution of the total number of persons employed in manufacturing establishments in 1921.

TABLE 21.—Number of Persons¹ of All Ages and of Juveniles of Certain Ages Employed in Factories in Canada and in Each Province, in 1921

	All ages	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	10-15 years	16-17 years
Canada	475,520	680	3,728	9,860	14,268	34,185
Prince Edward Island.....	1,287	15	14	31	60	95
Nova Scotia.....	20,066	40	70	194	304	1,165
New Brunswick.....	17,210	38	115	244	397	1,098
Quebec.....	147,902	462	1,909	4,226	6,597	13,503
Ontario.....	229,132	109	1,467	4,559	6,135	15,463
Manitoba.....	16,789	6	56	246	308	1,099
Saskatchewan.....	5,133	1	17	50	68	235
Alberta.....	8,592	.....	9	83	92	425
British Columbia.....	29,429	9	71	227	307	1,102

¹Excludes owners, superintendents and managers.

TABLE 22.—Percentage Distribution of All Persons¹ and of Juveniles of Certain Ages Employed in Factories, by Provinces, 1921

	All ages	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	10-15 years	16-17 years
Canada	100	100	100	100	100	100
Prince Edward Island.....	0.3	2.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
Nova Scotia.....	4.2	5.9	1.9	2.0	2.1	3.4
New Brunswick.....	3.6	5.6	3.1	2.5	2.8	3.2
Quebec.....	31.1	67.9	51.2	42.9	46.2	39.5
Ontario.....	48.2	16.0	39.3	46.2	43.0	45.2
Manitoba.....	3.5	0.9	1.5	2.5	2.2	3.2
Saskatchewan.....	1.1	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7
Alberta.....	1.8	.....	0.2	0.8	0.6	1.2
British Columbia.....	6.2	1.3	1.9	2.3	2.1	3.2

¹Excludes owners, superintendents and managers.

Of the 14,268 children, 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, working in factories in 1921, 6,597 or 46.2 per cent were in the province of Quebec and 6,135 or 43 per cent in the province of Ontario. Of the 680 children 10 to 13 years of age, 462 were in Quebec and 109 in Ontario. At 14 years, there were 1,909 in Quebec factories and 1,467 in Ontario. At 15 years, 4,559 were in Ontario and 4,226 in Quebec. Of the 475,520 persons of all ages engaged in manufacturing in Canada in 1921, Ontario manufacturing establishments employed 229,132 or 48.2 per cent and Quebec factories 147,902 or 31.1 per cent. Thus, in these two provinces were concentrated 79.3 per cent of all those who were engaged in manufacturing. British Columbia ranks third in order of importance as a manufacturing province but employed in 1921 only 6.2 per cent of the factory workers in Canada and only 2.1 per cent of those from 10 to 15 years of age. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had 4.2 per cent and 3.6 per cent, respectively, of all the factory employees in Canada and 2.1 per cent and 2.8 per cent, respectively, of those under 16 years of age. In Manitoba, 16,789 were employed in manufacturing and of these, 308 or 2.2 per cent were less than 16 years old.

The proportion of juveniles, 10 to 15 years old inclusive, and 10 to 17 years old inclusive, among factory employees in Canada is set out by provinces in Table 23.

TABLE 23.—Proportion of Juveniles, Male and Female, 10-15 Years of Age and 10-17 Years of Age, Among Persons Employed in Factories in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

(Workers¹ of all ages = 100)

	10-15 years			10-17 years		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Canada	2.3	5.7	3.0	7.6	19.4	10.2
Prince Edward Island.....	3.9	6.4	4.7	11.1	14.3	12.2
Nova Scotia.....	1.4	2.0	1.5	6.7	10.4	7.3
New Brunswick.....	2.1	3.2	2.3	7.9	12.5	8.7
Quebec.....	3.4	7.2	4.5	10.3	22.6	13.6
Ontario.....	2.0	5.3	2.7	6.9	19.0	9.4
Manitoba.....	1.5	3.4	1.8	6.4	17.0	8.4
Saskatchewan.....	1.4	1.2	1.3	5.6	7.5	5.9
Alberta.....	1.0	1.1	1.1	5.2	10.6	6.0
British Columbia.....	0.9	2.2	1.0	4.1	12.7	4.8

¹Excludes owners, superintendents and managers.

The numerical importance of the young workers in the manufacturing industries appears from this table. In Canada as a whole, the girls under 16 years of age formed 5.7 per cent of all the women employed in factories. The girls under 18 formed 19.4 per cent of the total number of women. On the other hand, the number of boys under 18 employed in factories was 7.6 per cent of the number of male factory workers in Canada and the number of those under 16 was 2.3 per cent of all the male workers. There were almost four times as many men as women employed in factories in 1921 but the average age of the women is much lower, over one-half the employed women being under 25 years of age and over half the men being under 34 years. The proportion of employed juveniles varied considerably between the provinces. In Prince Edward Island and Quebec, the proportion of the younger group is above the average for the Dominion. In the former province, however, there were only 60 persons under 16 years of age employed in factories and 47 of these were engaged in the canning or curing of fish. On the whole, juvenile workers formed a larger proportion of the total number of factory employees in the eastern provinces than in the western, the central province of Ontario falling slightly below the Dominion average. As shown in Table 22, only a little over one-half the number of those employed in factories under 16 years of age were in the four eastern provinces but 56.6 per cent of the 14-year-old workers and 81.6 per cent of the 10-to-13-year-old workers were in these provinces.

The principal manufactures in connection with which juveniles are employed in Canada are shown in Table 24.

TABLE 24.—Number of Juveniles Employed in Certain Manufacturing Industries in Canada, 1921

	10-13 years			14 years			15 years			16-17 years		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All manufactures	462	218	680	2,246	1,488	3,728	5,702	4,158	9,860	19,961	14,224	34,185
Textiles, primary products.....	43	51	94	363	438	801	738	1,082	1,820	1,775	3,076	4,851
Textile goods and clothing.....	13	52	65	77	308	385	225	872	1,097	755	3,310	4,065
Iron and steel.....	23	1	24	189	16	205	723	87	810	3,417	450	3,867
Non-ferrous metals.....	9	3	12	55	16	71	216	104	320	749	357	1,106
Saw and planing mills.....	97	—	97	338	—	338	642	1	643	2,518	1	2,519
Pulp and paper.....	22	6	28	130	53	183	260	138	398	1,213	440	1,653
Printing and book-binding.....	24	8	32	192	45	237	471	204	675	1,469	802	2,271
Boots and shoes.....	24	15	39	90	81	171	206	194	400	614	518	1,132
Biscuits and confectionery makers.....	5	11	16	26	107	133	51	330	381	207	960	1,167
Tobacco and cigarettes.....	4	4	8	13	20	33	26	55	81	213	616	832
Rubber goods.....	6	2	8	36	25	61	122	100	222	397	391	788
Total	270	153	423	1,509	1,109	2,618	3,680	3,167	6,847	13,327	10,924	24,251
Other manufactures.....	161	52	213	539	274	813	1,496	702	2,198	5,203	2,114	7,317
Unspecified.....	31	13	44	192	105	297	526	288	815	1,431	1,186	2,617

The manufactures listed in this table represent the industries employing over 70 per cent of all the girls under 14 in factories and over 76 per cent of all the girls from 14 to 17 years of age inclusive. Of the boys employed in factories, over 58 per cent of those 10 to 13 years old are in the specified industries and over 66 per cent of the older youths are engaged in connection with the manufacture of these products. There were 3,773 boys and girls under 18 years of age reported as being employed in "unspecified" industries.¹ The proportion of women and juveniles is always greater in those industries in which the work is light and requires dexterity rather than strength. Consequently, the textile industry, boot and shoe manufacture, confectionery making, paper box manufacture and canning and preserving employ a relatively large number of juveniles.

Table 25 gives the number and percentage distribution of boys and girls, among the manufacturing industries employing the largest numbers of young persons in 1921.

TABLE 25.—Number and Per Cent Distribution of Juveniles 10 to 15 and 16 to 17 Years of Age, inclusive, Employed in Certain Manufacturing Industries, 1921

	10-15 years				16-17 years			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All manufactures.....	8,404	100	5,864	100	19,961	100	14,224	100
Textiles, primary products.....	1,144	13.6	1,571	26.8	1,775	8.9	3,076	21.6
Textile goods and clothing.....	315	3.7	1,232	21.0	755	3.8	3,310	23.3
Iron and steel.....	935	11.1	104	1.8	3,417	17.1	450	3.2
Non-ferrous metals.....	280	3.3	123	2.1	749	3.8	357	2.5
Saw and planing mills.....	1,077	12.8	1	0.0	2,518	12.6	1	0.0
Pulp and paper.....	412	4.9	197	3.4	1,213	6.1	440	3.1
Printing and book-binding.....	687	8.2	257	4.4	1,469	7.4	802	5.6
Boots and shoes.....	320	3.8	290	4.9	614	3.1	518	3.6
Biscuits and confectionery makers.	82	1.0	448	7.6	207	1.0	960	6.7
Tobacco and cigarettes.....	43	0.5	79	1.3	213	1.1	619	4.3
Rubber goods.....	164	2.0	127	2.2	397	2.0	391	2.7

TEXTILES

It is clear from Tables 24 and 25 that the textile industry is the most important industry so far as girls under 18 years are concerned. It employs, too, a larger number of boys from 10 to 15 years inclusive, than any other manufacturing industry. Of all employed girls, 10 to 15 years of age, over 47 per cent are engaged in the manufacture of textiles or textile products. Nearly 45 per cent of the 16 and 17 year-old girls are similarly employed. Table 26 sets out the number and proportion of juveniles, 10-15 years of age, and those 16 and 17 years of age, who were employed in 1921 in the textile industry in the different provinces. Part I of the table deals with those engaged in the manufacture of cotton, wool and silk, including the making of knitted goods, rugs and carpets, rope and twine. Part II covers the manufacture of textile goods and wearing apparel including awnings, tents and sails, mattresses, ready-made and custom-made clothing, hats and caps. In both sections of the table, the number of owners, superintendents, and managers has been omitted.

Over 90 per cent of the persons employed in textile factories in Canada in 1921 were in Quebec and Ontario and over 84 per cent of those employed in the manufacture of textile products were employed in these two provinces. In 1921, Ontario textile factories employed about 2,700 more workers than Quebec while Quebec employed about 2,500 more persons in establishments making clothing and other textile goods. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia there were 1,561 and 902 textile workers respectively, and in British Columbia, 263. The manufacture of clothing and other textile products is not so concentrated in the central provinces as are the primary processes of textile manufacture. Over 1,000 persons were employed in 1921 in these industries in each of the provinces of Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick and Alberta.

The numerical importance of juveniles in the production of textiles and textile goods appears from Table 26. Of all the workers in textile mills in Canada, exclusive of owners and superintendents, 8.3 per cent were under 16 years of age. The proportion of juveniles

¹See pp. 71-72.

of these ages in all the manufacturing industries of Canada in 1921 was 3.0 per cent. The proportion of juvenile workers under 18 years of age in textile mills in 1921 was 23.3 per cent; the proportion in factories of all kinds was 10.2 per cent. In Ontario 1,192 or 7.4 per cent of all the textile workers were under 16, in Quebec 1,400 or 10.5 per cent were under 16. The 16 and 17-year-old workers numbered 2,261 or 17.0 per cent of the total in Quebec and 2,233 or 13.9 per cent of the total in Ontario. The proportion of the persons, including owners and superintendents, employed in the textile mills in the United States in 1920 who were under 16 years of age was 5.9 per cent. The similar proportion in Canada in 1921 was 8.1 per cent.

TABLE 26.—Total Number of Persons¹ and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles 10 to 15 Years of Age inclusive, and 16 to 17 Years of Age inclusive, Employed in Textile Industries in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

	1. Primary Production									
	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages.....	32,529	13	938	1,606	13,312	16,078	245	7	66	264
10-13 years.....	94	—	2	7	61	24	—	—	—	—
14 years.....	801	—	4	38	467	290	—	—	—	2
15 years.....	1,820	—	12	45	872	878	7	1	1	4
10-15 years										
Number.....	2,715	—	18	90	1,400	1,192	7	1	1	6
Per cent.....	8.3	—	1.9	5.6	10.5	7.4	(2.8)	(14.3)	(1.5)	(2.3)
16-17 years										
Number.....	4,851	1	99	189	2,261	2,233	32	—	4	32
Per cent.....	14.9	(7.7)	10.5	11.8	17.0	13.9	13.1	—	(6.1)	12.1
10-17 years										
Number.....	7,566	1	117	279	3,661	3,425	39	1	5	38
Per cent.....	23.3	(7.7)	12.5	17.4	27.5	21.3	15.9	(14.3)	(7.6)	14.4

2.—Textile Goods and Clothing										
All ages.....	54,938	276	1,818	1,229	24,515	21,945	1,743	651	1,014	1,747
10-13 years.....	65	—	—	1	56	7	1	—	—	—
14 years.....	385	—	2	4	248	122	3	1	—	5
15 years.....	1,097	2	6	7	653	376	26	3	8	16
10-15 years										
Number.....	1,547	2	8	12	957	505	30	4	8	21
Per cent.....	2.8	(0.7)	(0.4)	1.0	3.9	2.3	1.7	(0.6)	(0.8)	1.2
16-17 years										
Number.....	4,065	9	71	44	2,317	1,332	112	19	46	115
Per cent.....	7.4	(3.3)	3.9	3.6	9.5	6.1	6.4	2.9	4.5	6.6
10-17 years										
Number.....	5,612	11	79	56	3,274	1,837	142	23	54	136
Per cent.....	10.2	4.0	4.3	4.6	13.4	8.4	8.1	3.5	5.3	7.8

NOTE.—Where numbers are too small to be significant, percentages are enclosed in brackets.

¹Excludes owners, superintendents and managers.

In the manufacture of ready-made clothing and other textile products included in the second section of Table 26, the proportion of young workers to other workers was smaller than in the primary processes of the industry and there were fewer workers under 16 years of age employed. The number under 16 employed in such establishments in 1921 in Quebec was 957 and in Ontario 505, forming in the latter province 2.3 per cent of the total number of workers and in Quebec 3.9 per cent of all the employees in such establishments. In Quebec, 13.4 per cent were under 18 years of age and in Ontario 8.4 per cent were less than 18.

It is impossible to distinguish between the employees in cotton, woollen and silk factories in the census report as those enumerated as beamers, warpers, winders and reelers,

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

carders, dyers, spinners and weavers may be employed in one or other of these industries. The labourers under 16 years of age in cotton mills, however, numbered 322 and the labourers under 16 in woollen factories numbered 23. Those under 18 in cotton were 680, in wool 128. Further, among the cotton factory employees, excluding labourers and the skilled workers named above, there were 534 under 16 and 1,303 under 18 years of age. In woollen mills, the employees under 16, other than labourers or the special classes noted above, numbered 200 and those under 18, 556. Reports of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on the cotton, woollen, and hosiery and knit goods industries for 1919 show the number of those employed in these industries in that year as follows:—

Cotton			Wool			Hosiery and knit goods			All Textiles		
All employees ¹	Under 16		All employees ¹	Under 16		All employees ¹	Under 16		All employees ¹	Under 16	
	No.	%		No.	%		No.	%		No.	%
16,050	2,061	12.8	5,746	362	6.3	12,729	657	5.2	34,525	3,080	8.9

It appears, then, that the bulk of the juvenile labour in textile mills is employed in cotton manufacture. The history of these industries confirms this deduction. Cotton factories were among the first to give employment to children and they have continued to be the principal manufacturing industry employing young workers. There is no information available as to the number of juveniles employed since 1921. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics in its Report on the Textile Industries in Canada, 1917-1926, gave the average number of wage-earners employed in the manufacture of cotton textiles in 1921 as 16,141. In 1926 this number had risen to 21,477 and in 1927 to 22,285.² The average number of wage-earners in the woollen textile industries in 1921 was 6,353, in 1926, 7,423 and in 1927, 7,361.³

The enforcement⁴ of the 1919 amendment of the section of the Industrial Establishments Act of Quebec prohibiting employment of juveniles under 16 unless they are able to read and write fluently has tended to reduce the proportion employed under this age in Quebec but such juveniles may be permitted to work if they attend night school regularly. Further, the Report of the Minister of Public Works and Labour of Quebec for 1928-29 shows a decided falling off in the number of female "apprentices" or inexperienced employees in the textile industry in Quebec, particularly in the factories outside the Island of Montreal. The decline occurred among the lowest paid workers and was probably due to the putting into force of the minimum wage order for female employees in September, 1928. In that year, the number of inexperienced female employees in textile mills not on the Island of Montreal was 2,249. In 1929 the number reported was 1,561. The "experienced" female workers increased from 4,253 to 4,811, a net reduction in the number of female workers of 135. On the Island of Montreal, there was a decrease of 169 in the number of inexperienced female workers and an increase of 40 in the number of experienced female employees, the total declining from 3,141 to 3,012. A considerable part of this reduction would be among the youngest girls in the industry. Wage regulation elsewhere has tended to bring about the removal of the youngest and least efficient workers. The change in the relative number of young workers in the textile industry in Ontario since the establishment of minimum wages was noted on page 38. The putting into operation in September, 1921, of the Ontario Adolescent School Attendance Act requiring attendance up to 16 years of age unless an employment certificate is granted has, undoubtedly, also prevented some boys and girls of these ages entering factories in Ontario. The survey made of factory legislation in Canada in Part III⁵ of this bulletin shows the prominent part that has been played by the textile industry, and particularly cotton, in the history of legislation on the employment of women and children.

According to the census of industry taken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, a large proportion of the employees in cotton mills in Canada work 10 hours a day. In 1927, 70.6 per cent of the wage-earners in factories producing cotton yarns and cloth had a 10-hour day. In Ontario, over half the workers—57.1 per cent—were employed for nine

¹Excludes superintendents and managers.

²Report on Cotton Textile Industries in Canada, 1927. Mimeographed. 1929.

³Report on the Woollen Textile Industry in Canada, 1927. Mimeographed. 1929.

⁴Report of Minister of Public Works and Labour, Quebec, 1918-20.

⁵Pp. 104-121.

hours a day and 25.5 per cent for 10 hours. In Quebec, where 67.1 per cent of these workers were employed, 88.7 per cent worked for 10 hours and 3.7 per cent for 9 hours. Shorter hours prevail in woollen mills. In 1928, 69.3 per cent of the wage-earners in the woollen cloth industry worked 9 hours a day and 29.4 per cent worked 10 hours a day. In Ontario where about 80 per cent of the wage-earners in this industry are employed, 85.2 per cent had a 9-hour day and in Quebec, 655 of the 664 woollen mill employees worked 10 hours a day. Weekly hours of labour for boys under 18 and girls or women in cotton and woollen mills are limited by statute in Quebec to 55 a week.¹ There is also a statutory restriction on hours per day for these classes of workers but the maximum daily hours permitted are the same for all factories in Quebec and Ontario. In Ontario no distinction has been made between textile mills and other factories in the statutory limitation on working hours of women and young persons. The maximum hours per day for girls or women and for boys under 16 are 10 and the maximum weekly hours, 60.²

There is little or no apprenticeship in the textile industries in Canada. Production in these industries depends on the operation of machines, most of which are automatic or semi-automatic. There is a large number of light jobs which juveniles can perform and by experience in the work they become prepared for work at the machines as vacancies occur. On the other hand, there were 1,004 juveniles under 18 classed as labourers in textile mills of whom 451 were under 16 years of age. Labourers of all ages numbered 4,346. Cotton mills employed 680 of those under 18 and 322 of those under 16. In clothing and textile goods factories there were only 23 labourers under 16 and 103 under 18 years of age. The total number of those classed as labourers was 1,895.

The fact that certain departments of cotton and woollen manufacture are carried on in a humid or dusty atmosphere has led to some opposition to the employment of young workers who are more susceptible to respiratory diseases than adults. In Britain since 1889 and in Massachusetts since 1910, the factory law has regulated the temperature and degree and manner of humidification in workplaces requiring artificial humidity. Under the Quebec Public Health Act regulations were issued in 1905 laying down the same scale of temperature and humidity as in Britain. A committee of the British Home Office on artificial humidity in cotton cloth factories was appointed in 1924 and reported in 1928. The committee arrived at the conclusion that

"the inquiry into sickness rates in humid and non-humid [weaving] sheds shows that, contrary to past allegation, there is no evidence that employment in humid sheds gives rise to more sickness than does employment in non-humid sheds, or vice versa. . . . Although the sickness inquiry has satisfied us that there is no excessive sickness in humid as compared with dry sheds, we consider that the regulations should be amended on the ground of comfort."³

The Ontario Factory Act, like the British, requires proper drainage of the floors of any work-place where the manufacturing process carried on is likely to cause the floor to be wet to the detriment of the health of any employee. No specific regulations regarding the degree of heat or humidity have been issued but under the authority of the general clause in the Ontario Act declaring it unlawful to employ any person so that his health is likely to be endangered the factory inspector may issue orders regarding these and other matters.

The Director of the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the Ontario Department of Health reported in 1926:—

"A number of cotton and wool plants were visited to determine how far the processes necessitated work under conditions of high temperature and humidity. The conditions appeared to be very much better than those which might be expected from reports of these industries in Great Britain, so that in the meantime none of this work is being done in this industry."

On the other hand, certain branches of textile manufacture involve a considerable amount of dust. An investigation into tuberculosis mortality in Fall River, Massachusetts, from 1907 to 1912, inclusive, showed that male cotton spinners had a tuberculosis mortality rate 104 per cent above those not employed in the industry and the women showed an excess of 207 per cent over non-operatives. Further,

"the very great excess in the death rates of operatives over non-operatives among the youngest workers, those aged 15 to 19, must be considered especially significant, for these

¹A Quebec amendment of 1930 reduces the maximum weekly hours for young persons and women in all factories to 55.

²Longer hours may be permitted on 36 days in the year. See pp. 117-118.

³P. 32.

groups contain large numbers and afford a comparison between boys and girls who have been employed for a few years and boys and girls of equal age some of whom have not been employed at all as wage-earners."¹

This study was restricted to the leading cotton manufacturing city in the United States where 29 per cent and 28 per cent of the men and women, respectively, were employed in cotton manufacturing, 66·8 per cent of all the employed women and 35 per cent of the employed men working in the cotton mills. The natural conditions of the city were stated to be such as to make it particularly healthful.

"Even by the low standard of the mortality experienced by all males it will be seen that the textile industry is not a healthy one. It is more especially tuberculosis that is in excess, and there is also excessive mortality from bronchitis, in wool, cotton, and rope manufacture; this is probably due to the conditions of the industry."²

METALS

The iron and steel industry employed 4,906 persons under 18 years of age in 1921, 24 of whom were under 14, 205 were 14 years of age, 810 15 years of age and 3,867 16 and 17 years of age. Of all those employed, excluding owners and managers, the juveniles under 16 formed 1 per cent and those under 18, 4·6 per cent. A larger number of persons under 18 were working in iron and steel manufacture in 1921 than in factories of any other kind except textile mills but these juveniles formed a smaller percentage of the total number of workers in these plants than in other industries.

Among workers in non-ferrous metals in 1921, 403 or 2·5 per cent were under 16 years of age and 1,509 or 9·2 per cent were juveniles under 18 years of age. The lighter nature of much of the work in the non-ferrous metals permits the employment of a larger proportion of young persons than in the heavier iron and steel trades.

Table 27 shows the total number employed in the iron and steel industry in Canada in 1921 together with the number and percentage of juveniles.

TABLE 27.—Total Number of Persons¹ and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles, 10-15 Years of Age and 16-17 Years of Age, Employed in the Iron and Steel Industry in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages	105,591	133	7,708	2,453	23,713	59,528	5,288	1,111	2,060	3,591
10-13 years.....	24	—	2	1	13	7	1	—	—	—
14 years.....	205	—	7	—	64	120	5	—	1	8
15 years.....	810	—	24	10	213	495	26	6	11	25
10-15 years—										
Number.....	1,039	—	33	11	290	622	32	6	12	33
Per cent.....	1·0	—	0·4	0·4	1·2	1·0	0·6	(0·5)	0·5	0·9
16-17 years—										
Number.....	3,867	9	239	57	1,003	2,190	150	37	43	139
Per cent.....	3·6	(5·0)	3·1	2·3	4·2	3·7	2·8	3·3	2·0	3·9
10-17 years—										
Number.....	4,906	9	272	68	1,293	2,812	182	43	55	172
Per cent.....	4·6	(5·0)	3·5	2·7	5·4	4·7	3·4	3·8	2·6	4·8

NOTE.—Where numbers are too small to be significant percentages are enclosed in brackets.

¹Excludes owners, superintendents, and managers.

The metal trades are of special importance in the employment of juveniles not only because of their widespread character but also because they have a relatively large number of skilled occupations which require systematic instruction and training. Much of the work of manufacture is performed by automatic and semi-automatic machines, few of which demand a high degree of skill in their operation, but all-round mechanics are necessary and for some of the more skilled work a more or less formal system of apprenticeship is the method of recruitment. In the railway car shops, which are included in the iron and

¹A. R. Perry, Preventable Deaths in Cotton Manufacturing Industry. U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, Bulletin No. 25-1, Washington, 1919.

²Hope, Industrial Hygiene and Medicine, London, 1923, p. 520.

steel manufactures class of the census report, a highly organized system of apprentice training is carried on. Juveniles entering these trades are therefore trained for skilled work and a satisfactory industrial future. In other metal-working plants young workers are taken on without any agreement as to training but in many cases they are given an opportunity to learn what they can, and in time, may become skilled or semi-skilled workers.

The relatively large proportion of the juveniles in this industry who were apprenticed to a trade in 1921 is encouraging. Machinists' and millwrights' apprentices numbered 1,032 and moulders' apprentices numbered 363, making a total of 1,395 persons under 18 years of age undergoing definite training for a skilled trade. This number represents 28·6 per cent of all those under 18 in the iron and steel industry. Of these apprentices 244 were under 16 years of age. In addition to the apprentices to machinists, millwrights and moulders, the census report shows 113 blacksmiths' and boilermakers' apprentices and helpers under 18 years of age. Of these only 15 were under 16 years of age. How many helpers were learners it is impossible to tell but no doubt many of them would pick up sufficient knowledge of the trade to enable them to earn more than a labourer's wage. Apprentices to tinsmiths are the only ones reported in the non-ferrous metals industries. Of these there were 218 under 18 years of age, of whom 51 were under 16.

At the other end of the scale from apprentices are the general labourers¹ of whom there were 291 under 18 years in the non-ferrous metal industries. There were also 300 labourers under 16 years and 902, 16 and 17 years of age in the iron and steel industry making a total of 1,202 labourers under 18 years of age in this industry. These boys were distributed among the various iron and steel manufactures as follows:—

TABLE 28.—Number of Persons of All ages and Juveniles Employed as Labourers in Iron and Steel Industry, 1921

	All ages	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	16-17 years
Agricultural implement factories.....	971	1	3	12	47
Automobile and bicycle factories.....	1,560	—	4	10	58
Bridge works and fabrication.....	413	—	—	1	11
Car and railway shops.....	2,203	—	4	16	118
Foundries and machine shops.....	7,084	5	29	110	336
Machinery, boilers and engine manufacture.....	1,076	1	3	10	47
Miscellaneous iron industries.....	538	—	2	5	38
Rolling mills.....	4,160	1	7	24	124
Hardware and wire goods factories.....	1,001	—	11	31	80
Unspecified iron industries.....	870	—	5	5	43
All establishments.....	19,876	8	68	224	902

Another factor to be considered in connection with the employment of juveniles in the metal trades is the possible exposure to poisonous dusts and fumes and the greater susceptibility of young workers to disease. The influence of age in the liability to disease is agreed upon.

"The younger the patient the smaller the dose is the rule in medical practice with, of course, some striking exceptions. Since we know of no such exceptions among the industrial poisons, it is safe to conclude that boys and girls are more susceptible to them than are grown people. This fact has long been accepted in European countries and legislation governing the dangerous trades forbids the employment of children or young persons in processes exposing them to poisons even when the danger is, to the American view, very slight. . . . The British experience with TNT in the early years of the war showed clearly the greater susceptibility of the young people. The general mortality from toxic jaundice was 25·9 per cent of the reported cases but for persons under eighteen years of age the proportion was six deaths out of nine cases.

"We have very little data in the United States with regard to the greater susceptibility of young people to industrial poisons, partly because we have not, up to recently, employed many young people in such processes. Nevertheless, it is a subject which should be dealt with by legislation before the evil becomes greater. . . . in a TNT nitration plant, the older men averaged 56 days' exposure before they showed symptoms of poisoning, the younger men only to 7 to 8 days. In these two

¹See sections on Apprentices and Labourers, pp. 60-61 and 62-63.

plants the men under 25 years constituted less than 40 per cent of the force, but the fifteen cases of most rapid and serious poisoning were all in men under 25 years, most of them being 21 years old or less."¹

Physical examination of lead workers from 23 plants in 15 of the leading lead industries of New York State revealed an "extremely high incidence of lead absorption in those workers who were between the ages of 16 and 18 years." Of the workers in this age group, 87.5 per cent showed evidence of active lead absorption. The average for all ages was 60.8 per cent. "This would seem to suggest the undesirability of recruiting lead workers from among persons under 18 years of age."²

Further,

"Industrial poisoning is typically chronic, the acute forms are relatively rare, although this is not as yet so true of industrial poisoning in the United States as it is in the most European countries. Protection of workers in the dangerous trades in America is still fragmentary and incomplete and it is still true that men may be exposed to more massive doses of a trade poison than is permitted in the older countries. . . . But even here the chronic cases, though less spectacular are much more numerous and usually more serious than the acute. The damage done by repeated small doses of lead is lasting, that done by one short exposure to heavily contaminated air is probably transient and leaves no permanent damage."³

Workers in brass, lead, copper, zinc, arsenic, antimony or other metals are exposed to a greater or less degree to the dust or fumes of these metals or their salts. The non-ferrous metals are the more dangerous and among the metallic poisons, lead is the worst.

"More deaths have been caused by lead than by any other metal, partly because no other metal enters so largely into the arts and industries as lead, also because of the silent and insidious manner in which the poisoning occurs. Lead exerts its malign influence with a rapidity and severity greater in young persons than in old. Young adults especially are quickly brought under its sway. As a form of industrial poisoning it is met with among persons who inhale the dust and fume, who manipulate soluble lead compounds, or handle the metal itself."⁴

"Metallic lead is used in a wide variety of industries where it is cast or molded into various shapes. Lead wire, sheet lead, pipe, machine parts, plumbers' goods, bullets and shrapnel, picture frames, coffin ornaments, grids for storage battery plates, car and can seals, stoppers for bottles and for basins, tin foil, lead foil, printers' type, all these are objects the making of which involves exposure to molten and solid metallic lead, and in connection with all of these, cases of industrial lead poisoning are on record Other industries involving a large use of metallic lead are the making and use of solder and of bearing metal, lead burning with the oxyhydrogen flame, and lead tempering of machine parts, piano wires, magnetos, etc."⁵

"The making of storage batteries is a dangerous lead trade strictly regulated by the government in Great Britain and all European countries."⁶

"Brass polishers are frequently said to be suffering from a peculiar form of brass poisoning, which on investigation proves to be plumbism, from the lead in the brass The brass industry, not only founding but grinding, polishing, plating and lacquering, is notoriously unhealthy."⁷

For women and girls there is greater danger in exposure to lead than for men and boys. Sir Thomas Oliver, author of several books on industrial diseases, says:—

"So far as occupation exposure to lead is concerned, my opinion is (1) that women are more susceptible than men; (2) that while female liability is greatest between the ages of 18 and 23 years, that of men is later; and (3) that while females rapidly break down in health under the influence of lead, men can work a longer time in the factory without suffering, their resistance apparently being greater."⁸

In addition to the poisoning that may be caused by certain metals, the dust generated in the manufacturing process is dangerous to health.

¹Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States*, New York, 1925, pp. 12-13.

²Mayers, *Lead Absorption and Compensation*, *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, April, 1929.

³Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States*, New York, 1925, p. 1.

⁴Oliver, *Diseases of Occupation*, London, 1908, p. 137.

⁵Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States*, New York, 1925, p. 136.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 202 and 286.

⁸Oliver, *Dangerous Trades*, London, 1912, p. 297.

"The continuous and considerable exposure of workmen to the inhalation of metallic dust in its various forms is generally recognized by medical and other authorities on occupational diseases as probably the most serious health hazard with particular reference to a material increase in liability to pulmonary tuberculosis and non-tuberculosis respiratory diseases. . . . The injurious consequences of industrial dust exposure are, broadly speaking, proportionate to the amount of dust inhaled into the lungs, but important exceptions to this conclusion are brought out by the consideration in detail of the several kinds of metallic dust of which, perhaps, lead and arsenic are the most harmful, on account of the additional liability to industrial poisoning."¹

Such workers as metal polishers and grinders, cutlery, file and tool workers, brass moulders and finishers, gold beaters, jewellers, gold and silver polishers, type founders and engravers are liable to some form of pneumoconiosis, the term applied to various forms of disease of the lungs caused by the inhalation of dust.² A study made by the Prudential Insurance Company of America based upon its industrial experience from 1907 to 1912, showed the proportionate mortality from pulmonary tuberculosis among workers exposed to metallic dust to be 30.3 per cent—a higher percentage than among workers exposed to other mineral or organic dusts. The proportionate mortality from other respiratory diseases was 11.1 per cent. The percentage of deaths from tuberculosis in the various metal trades in this inquiry ranged from 22.6 for general iron and steel workers to 32.0 for gold beaters, 37.5 for polishers and grinders, 43.7 for general iron and steel workers, 42.3 for jewellers, 43.7 for brass workers and 45.2 for brass polishers.³ The toxic effect of the dust of certain metals may be an important predisposing cause of tuberculosis.

Table 29 sets out the total number of persons and the number of juveniles by ages employed in the non-ferrous metal industries in Canada in 1921. The number of owners and managers is excluded. The labourers have been grouped with the other workers in the particular industry.

TABLE 29.—Total Number of Persons and Number of Juveniles Employed in Non-Ferrous Metal Industries, 1921

	All ages	10-13 years	14 years	15 years	16-17 years
Brass and copper workers.....	874	—	4	11	39
Labourers.....	268	—	1	8	20
	1,142	—	5	19	59
Electric supply makers.....	2,933	—	10	68	252
Labourers.....	542	—	2	13	51
	3,475	—	12	81	303
Concentrators and smelters.....	543	—	—	2	7
Gold and silver workers.....	1,055	2	9	48	104
Jewellers and watchmakers.....	338	—	—	—	15
Gold and silver and jewellery labourers.....	72	—	2	4	13
	1,465	2	11	52	132
Lamp and lantern makers.....	238	—	2	17	45
Lead and zinc factories.....	392	1	4	12	37
Lead, tin and zinc labourers.....	471	2	11	34	86
	863	3	15	46	123

¹Hoffman, Mortality from Respiratory Diseases in Dusty Trades, U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, Bulletin No. 231, 1918, p. 51.

²Kober and Hayhurst, Industrial Health, Philadelphia, 1924, p. 723.

³Quoted in Kober and Hayhurst, pp. 730-731.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

TABLE 29.—Total Number of Persons and Number of Juveniles Employed in Non-Ferrous Metal Industries, 1921—*Concluded*

	All ages	19-13 years	14 years	15 years	16-17 years
Non-ferrous metal industries not otherwise specified	367	—	1	8	38
Labourers.....	1,132	—	1	2	41
	1,499	—	2	10	79
Machinists and millwrights.....	928	—	—	—	11
Moulders, founders and casters.....	322	—	—	—	10
Pattern and model makers.....	108	—	—	—	4
Platers, polishers and buffers.....	634	1	2	11	29
Tinsmiths.....	2,635	—	—	—	—
Tinsmiths' apprentices.....	285	4	14	33	168
Foremen and forewomen.....	487	—	—	—	1
Office employees.....	1,684	—	—	25	115
Messengers and office boys.....	60	2	8	24	20
Total.....	16,370	12	71	320	1,106

The number of such skilled workers as machinists and millwrights, moulders, founders and casters, pattern and model makers, platers, polishers and buffers and tinsmiths, office employees and messengers, is not shown in the census report by industries. Excluding these classes of workers, 24 of the 1,142 workers in brass and copper were under 16 and 83 were under 18 years of age. Of these, 9 were girls under 16 and 13 were girls 16 and 17 years of age. Of the 3,475 electric supply makers, 93 were under 16 and 396 or 11.4 per cent were less than 18 years old. The girls under 16 numbered 47 and those over 16 and under 18, 150.

In lead and zinc factories, the total number of employees, outside of the skilled workers and messengers, was 863, of whom 64 were under 16 and 123 more were under 18 years of age. There were 6 girls under 16 and 20 girls 16 and 17 years old in these workshops. Of all the employees in the non-ferrous metal industries, excluding owners and managers, 123 were girls under 16 and 480 were girls under 18. There were 25 office employees under 16 and 140 under 18, of whom 66 were girls.

The largest number of the juveniles in non-ferrous metals were working in Ontario, 955 of those under 18 being employed in Ontario and 376 in Quebec. The balance were scattered through British Columbia, Manitoba, Alberta, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The distribution of these workers in the different industries in Ontario and Quebec is shown in Table 30.

TABLE 30.—Total Number of Persons and of Juveniles Employed in Non-Ferrous Metal Industries in Ontario and Quebec, 1921

	All ages		10-15 years		16-17 years	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
Brass and copper workers.....	291	732	6	16	14	39
Electric supply makers.....	906	2,337	11	81	70	221
Gold and silver workers, jewellery and watchmakers.....	302	932	27	36	38	83
Lamp and lantern makers.....	21	215	1	18	2	42
Lead, tin and zinc factory workers.....	303	437	31	27	46	56
Machinists and millwrights.....	180	656	—	—	4	7
Moulders, founders, casters.....	57	221	—	—	—	8
Pattern and model makers.....	23	70	—	—	1	1
Platers, polishers and buffers.....	113	488	5	9	7	20
Tinsmiths.....	501	1,358	—	—	—	—
Tinsmiths' apprentices.....	60	123	14	29	38	69
Non-ferrous metals, not otherwise specified.....	209	609	6	6	22	42
	2,966	8,178	101	222	242	588
Foremen.....	93	290	—	—	—	—
Messengers and office boys.....	11	41	6	27	3	14
Office employes.....	337	1,159	7	16	17	88
	3,407	9,668	114	265	262	690

How many of the young workers in these industries in Canada are exposed to the dusts and fumes generated during the process of manufacture is not known. The non-ferrous metal industries in Canada have developed rapidly of recent years and the figures for employment in 1921 give little idea of the present condition of these industries. The annual census of industry taken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics shows the total number of wage-earners in 1924 in non-ferrous metal plants, exclusive of the smelting industry, to have been 17,213 of whom 3,420 were females. In 1928, the wage-earners numbered 21,975 of whom 4,087 were females. The greatest expansion has taken place in the electrical apparatus and supplies industry which in 1924 employed 8,076 men and 2,554 women and in 1928 employed 10,892 men and 2,958 women. The manufacture of brass and copper products gave employment to 2,761 males and 342 females in 1924 and to 4,067 males and 415 females in 1928. Work with lead, tin and zinc engaged 340 males and 23 females in 1924 and 437 males and 65 females in 1928. In the precious metals industry, 1,587 male and 376 female wage-earners were employed in 1924. In 1928 there were 1,887 men and 533 women in this industry. No figures are available as to the ages of those employed since 1921.

The hours of labour in workshops manufacturing non-ferrous metal products are of special importance.

"Without entering into the controversy as to whether fatigue lowers the resistance to poisons, it is safe to assert that long hours of work increase industrial poisoning simply because they increase the actual dose of poison and also lessen the chance of completely eliminating one dose before another is taken. It is obvious that a man will absorb more poison in ten hours than in eight hours or in six and he can eliminate more in sixteen hours than in fourteen."¹

According to the industrial census of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for 1927, the employees in these industries, working 8, 9, 10 or more hours per day during the month of greatest employment in 1927 were distributed as follows:—

	Eight hours or less	Nine hours	Ten hours	More than ten hours
Aluminium.....	97	42	277	58
Brass and copper.....	1,131	2,137	1,051	154
Lead, tin and zinc.....	58	444	17	19
Precious metals.....	917	1,020	323	131
Electrical apparatus and supplies.....	9,010	4,612	700	249
Miscellaneous.....	84	110	25	—

Only in Quebec are there specific regulations designed to protect particularly the youthful worker in these trades. In that province, regulations under the dangerous trades clause of the Industrial Establishments Act forbid the employment of boys under 16 or girls under 18 in grinding and turning of stones in cutlery manufacture, in soldering of boxes in can manufacturing or in canning plants, in cleaning iron, brass or zinc with acids or dry polishing iron or brass, in galvanizing iron, in boxing and canning paint, in smelting and rolling iron, brass, lead, or zinc, in stamping sheet metal or trimming sheet iron utensils or wire in wire making or drawing, in varnishing metal dried in ovens or in the manufacture of white lead. In no other province have regulations been made under this enabling clause which appears in all the provincial Acts but that of Alberta.²

All other Canadian legislation covering employment in the metal trades is for the protection of employees in general and not for the safeguarding of the juvenile worker whose age renders him or her peculiarly liable to the hazards of the industry. The Nova Scotia Factory Act imposes on brass, iron and steel foundries special requirements as to proper ventilation, lighting, heat, washrooms and lockers for clothing. Smoke, steam and gases are required to be removed and the milling and cleaning of castings must be done in rooms not otherwise used. Under the Quebec Industrial Establishments Act regulations have been laid down requiring adequate ventilation and heat and washing facilities in foundries. The factory inspector is authorized to require appliances

¹Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States*, New York, 1925, p. 3.

²See p. 120 of this publication.

for the expulsion of dust, fumes or gases. In other provinces, there are no specific regulations relating to foundries but such establishments are factories under the Acts and general power is given to the factory inspector in all provinces but New Brunswick to see that the health of no young person is likely to be permanently injured.¹ The Factory Acts in all the provinces but New Brunswick provide that where dusts and fumes are present to an injurious extent, mechanical appliances for their removal are to be installed.

In British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Saskatchewan, young persons and women may be forbidden by the factory inspector to eat meals in any room where a manufacturing process is being carried on. In Quebec and Alberta all workers may come within such prohibition. In Ontario and Alberta no person may take food into any room where paint, varnish, dye, white lead, arsenic or any other poisonous substance is exposed or where deleterious fumes, dust or gases are known to be present and drinking water must be taken directly from taps or closed receptacles.

The Workmen's Compensation Acts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, provide for compensation in cases of certain specified industrial diseases. In all these provinces poisoning from arsenic, lead, mercury or phosphorus or any of their compounds is compensable. The Workmen's Compensation Act passed in Saskatchewan in 1929 contains a similar provision. In Ontario, pneumoconiosis is also compensable. The system of workmen's compensation in force in these provinces throws the cost of the industrial diseases, which are within the scope of the law and which are reported to the Workmen's Compensation Board, on the body of employers in the industries concerned and should tend, therefore, to the adoption of measures to prevent them. Special precautions against such occupational diseases require expert knowledge, however, and in none of the Canadian provinces does the law require the reporting of occupational diseases to the health authorities nor the inspection of factories by persons trained in sanitation and hygiene.²

The Division of Industrial Hygiene of the Ontario Department of Health, established in 1920, has devoted a good deal of attention to the problem of occupational diseases and, particularly, of lead poisoning.

"The objective of the Division of Industrial Hygiene is to help industry itself in reducing the suffering and loss of production caused by ill-health, physical defects and industrial accidents, one of the four great sources of waste in industry."³

Recommendations have been made by the Division with a view to the prevention of sickness among wage-earners but these recommendations have not been embodied in legislation and employers appear to have failed to take full advantage of the services of the Division. In connection with an investigation of the incidence of lead poisoning in the manufacture of storage batteries in 1923, the Director stated in his report for that year:—

"The findings in 1923, in spite of the previous demonstration of a comparatively high incidence of poisoning and of the presence of dangerous quantities of lead in the air, showed a failure to remedy conditions on a voluntary basis. The experience of the Division in this respect is not limited to this industry."

In 1924, the Director's report contained the following recommendation:—

"Legislation should be brought in to provide for compulsory periodic physical examination of exposed workers in (a) certain lead trades, e.g. storage batteries, (b) the chief trades where benzol poison is a hazard, e.g. the rubber trade."

In 1926, it was felt that some progress had been made in the storage battery industry through the co-operation of the more important employers and the Factory Inspection Branch of the Ontario Department of Labour:—

"The work among the storage battery plants in Ontario is encouraging. The storage battery industry which in Great Britain leads all other industries in the number of cases of lead poisoning produced, shows considerable progress in the control of this hazard in Ontario. All the larger manufacturing plants in Ontario have *voluntarily* made provision for periodic physical examination of workers exposed to lead and for frequent visits to the plant by company physicians, who are using

¹See Table E, p. 106 of this publication for ages of "young person." In Alberta and Ontario this provision refers to all persons employed. In Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, young persons and women only are specified; in Nova Scotia and British Columbia both clauses are found in Acts.

²See p. 39.

³Annual Report, 1926.

accepted methods for the early detection of lead poisoning. Some cases of lead poisoning still occur in these plants. There have been a few which developed rapidly following some intercurrent illness for example, influenza, indicating that lead had been absorbed and that it only required a change in metabolism brought about by the intercurrent infection to throw lead into the circulation and produce symptoms. This shows that the conditions of work are not such as to entirely prevent men from receiving lead into the system.²

In 1927, it was reported:—

"By arrangement with the Factory Inspection Branch of the Department of Labour, the Division's chemist has made chemical determinations, such as the amount of lead in air and analysis of substances submitted. These findings interpreted in terms of their effect on workers are used by the Factory Inspector's Branch as a basis for improvement if such is necessary."

In 1928:—

"The medical arrangements for supervision of workers in storage battery industries are still in operation. The conditions of work in some of these plants are not such as to make it possible to prevent lead poisoning entirely. Experience elsewhere is that specific regulations regarding lead poisoning have been necessary to control the hazard. They may yet be necessary here."

The Montreal Health Survey Committee recommended that the Quebec Department of Health should arrange for making air analyses and analysis of material thought to be poisonous.¹

Legislation in other countries with regard to lead poisoning is set out in a volume published by the Ontario Department of Health in 1923.² It is sufficient to note here that in Britain, the same general requirements are in force as in the Canadian Factory Acts regarding ventilation, removal of dust and fumes, washing facilities, meals in rooms where there is dust or fumes, etc. In addition, physicians are required to notify the Home Office of all cases of lead, phosphorus, arsenic or mercury poisoning contracted in a factory or workshop and employers are required to notify the factory inspector. Regulations for the protection of workers issued from time to time since 1891 govern the manufacture of white lead, storage batteries, file-cutting by hand, trimming of hollowware, smelting of lead, manufacture of red or orange lead or flaked litharge and of certain compounds of lead. The employment of women and young persons under 16 in certain processes and the continuous employment of any workers at the most hazardous jobs are prohibited by these regulations. Lists of all those employed in such processes are kept and weekly, monthly or quarterly medical examinations of the workers are required, the frequency varying with the hazard of the process. The Women and Young Persons (Employment in Lead Processes) Act, 1920, followed the lines of the recommendation of the International Labour Conference, 1919, and forbade the employment of women or young persons under 18 years of age in certain specified operations involving the use of lead or its compounds. In other processes where dusts or fumes are produced the employment of women and young persons is declared unlawful unless certain regulations are complied with as to the removal of dust, medical examination of workers, food or tobacco in the room where manufacturing process is being carried on, protective clothing, washing accommodation and general cleanliness of workshop and tools.

SAW AND PLANING MILLS

Saw and planing mills are important in a study of juvenile employment, both because of the relatively large number of young persons employed and the dangerous character of the operations. According to the census of industry taken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the total number of persons employed in saw and planing mills in 1924 was 45,983;³ in 1927 the number was 56,043. The hazardous nature of woodworking⁴ is indicated by the fact that the various workmen's compensation boards have found it necessary to levy a relatively high rate of assessment on employers in these industries. In Ontario the assessment rate on saw and shingle mills is exceeded only by the rate on logging operations, mining and excavation and construction work.

¹See p. 39.

²Hutton, *Lead Poisoning* (a compilation of present knowledge), Toronto, 1923.

³Includes salaried employees as well as wage-earners.

⁴See Part II of this publication on Industrial Accidents, pp. 81-90.

Another factor to be considered in connection with the work of juveniles in mills of this kind is the frequent location of such work-places in small villages or in the country and the greater difficulty of enforcing the laws on school attendance and factory employment in out-of-the-way places. For the same reason it is hard to obtain accurate figures showing the employment of juveniles in saw and planing mills.

Woodworking establishments of all kinds are distributed throughout all the provinces but when the census, 1921, was taken, over 60 per cent of the workers were in Ontario and Quebec. The number of persons, excluding owners and managers, employed in 1921 was 70,166. Of this number, 1,790 were under 16 years of age and 6,011 were under 18. Apprentices numbered 224. There were 48 cabinet makers' apprentices, 17 of them under 16 years of age. Coopers' apprentices numbered 46 under 18 years, of whom 11 were less than 16. Upholsterers had 130 apprentices, of whom 38 were under 16. The labourers in the various woodworking plants numbered 98 under 14 years of age, 2,231 under 16 and 2,574, 16 and 17 years of age. Nearly two-thirds of the labourers under 18 in woodworking plants were employed in saw and planing mills.

Table 31 shows the total number of general employees and labourers and the number and percentage of juveniles working in saw and planing mills in Canada in 1921. Sawyers, filers, setters and machinists are not included in the table since the census report does not indicate how many of such workers were employed in these mills.

TABLE 31.—Number of Persons¹, and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles 10 to 15 Years of Age and 16 to 17 Years of Age, Employed in Saw and Planing Mills in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages.....	38,324	88	2,043	4,885	10,039	11,166	492	272	421	8,918
10-13 years.....	97	.....	6	9	64	14	.....	.....	.....	4
14 years.....	338	1	19	32	159	111	2	1	.....	13
15 years.....	642	2	35	88	248	213	6	3	8	39
10-15 years—										
Number.....	1,077	3	60	129	471	338	8	4	8	56
Per cent.....	2.8	(3.4)	2.9	2.6	4.7	3.0	(1.6)	(1.5)	(1.9)	0.6
16-17 years—										
Number.....	2,460	9	205	372	801	772	17	18	24	242
Per cent.....	6.4	(10.2)	10.0	7.6	8.0	6.9	3.5	6.6	5.7	2.7
10-17 years—										
Number.....	3,537	12	265	500	1,272	1,110	25	22	32	298
Per cent.....	9.2	13.6	13.0	10.3	12.7	9.9	5.1	8.1	7.6	3.3

NOTE.—Where numbers are too small to be significant, percentages are enclosed in brackets.

¹Includes general employees and labourers in saw and planing mills but does not include sawyers or others in skilled occupations.

All but one or two of the juveniles in saw and planing mills in 1921 were boys and 3,160 of them were classed as labourers. Of the 97 under 14 years of age, 83 were "labourers." Quebec mills gave employment to 471 under 16 years of age and Ontario mills to 338. In the country as a whole, 9.2 per cent of these workers were under 18 and in the five eastern provinces the proportion of young workers was still higher. The small proportion of juveniles in this industry in British Columbia is noteworthy in view of the comparatively large number of adults employed. In this province, the lumber industry has been rapidly expanding. The British Columbia Department of Labour reported 319 boys under 18 years of age employed in the lumber industries during the week of greatest employment in 1926. This number represented less than 1 per cent of the total number of males employed by lumber dealers and in logging operations and in saw, planing and shingle mills in British Columbia. As noted before, the minimum age for the factory employment of boys in British Columbia was 14 years until 1923 when both boys and girls were required to be 15 before being employed in factories.

PULP AND PAPER

The pulp and paper industry has been since 1923 the leading industry in Canada in the value of its products and is second only to saw-milling in the number of employees. In 1928, the employees in pulp and paper mills numbered 33,614 of whom 17,743 were in

Quebec and 10,993 in Ontario.¹ The number of persons employed in 1921 in the manufacture of pulp and paper and the number and percentage of juveniles are set out in Table 32. These figures include the persons engaged in the making of paper envelopes, boxes, bags, etc.

TABLE 32.—Total Number of Persons¹ and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles, 10 to 15 Years of Age and 16 and 17 Years of Age, Employed in the Manufacture of Pulp and Paper in Canada and in Each Province, 1921.

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages	25,386	25	552	1,456	13,042	8,273	183	7	56	1,792
10-13 years.....	28				26	2				
14 years.....	183		1	7	125	48	1			
15 years.....	398		7	14	250	114	11			2
10-15 years—										
Number.....	609		8	21	401	164	12			2
Per cent.....	2.4		(1.4)	1.4	3.1	2.0	6.6			(0.1)
16-17 years—										
Number.....	1,653	2	44	88	932	514	29		4	40
Per cent.....	6.5	(8.0)	8.0	6.0	7.1	6.2	15.8		7.1	2.2
10-17 years—										
Number.....	2,262	2	52	109	1,333	678	41		4	42
Per cent.....	8.9	(8.0)	9.4	7.5	10.2	8.2	22.4		7.1	2.3

NOTE.—Where numbers are too small to be significant percentages are enclosed in brackets.

¹Excludes owners, managers and superintendents.

Of the 2,262 juveniles under 18 years of age reported at the census, 1921, to be working in this industry, 1,084 boys were general labourers. Of these, 294 were under 16. The girls under 18 in this industrial group numbered 637, 327 of whom were in factories producing paper bags, boxes, envelopes, etc., and 258 of whom were in pulp and paper mills.

PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING

Table 33 gives the total number of persons, excluding owners and managers, and the number and percentage of juveniles employed in printing and bookbinding in Canada in 1921.

TABLE 33.—Total Number of Persons¹ and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles 10 to 15 Years and 16 and 17 Years of Age Employed in Printing and Bookbinding in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages	22,726	109	658	442	5,165	11,634	2,001	582	834	1,301
10-13 years.....	32	1		2	20	4	3	1		1
14 years.....	237		7	3	82	101	23	5		14
15 years.....	675	2	11	15	175	341	55	16	24	36
10-15 years—										
Number.....	944	3	18	20	277	446	81	22	26	51
Per cent.....	4.1	(2.8)	2.7	4.5	5.4	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.1	3.9
16-17 years—										
Number.....	2,271	11	55	29	558	1,136	238	60	83	101
Per cent.....	10.0	10.1	8.4	6.6	10.8	9.8	11.9	10.3	10.0	7.8
10-17 years—										
Number.....	3,215	14	73	49	835	1,582	319	82	109	152
Per cent.....	14.1	12.8	11.1	11.1	16.2	13.6	15.9	14.1	13.1	11.7

¹Excludes owners, managers and superintendents.

Of the 3,215 young persons under 18 years of age employed in this industry, 944 were under 16. There were 257 girls under 16 and 802 girls, 16 or 17 years of age. A large proportion of the girls were probably employed in binderies where much of the work requires a certain amount of deftness but can be learned within a short time. The proportion of young workers does not vary as widely among the different provinces in this industry as in others. The work demands a high degree of skill and the proportion of juveniles is, therefore, likely to be more or less fixed since they cannot take the place of skilled workmen.

¹Report on Pulp and Paper Industry in Canada, 1923, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1929. Mimeographed. (Preliminary).

Printing is one of the few trades in which apprenticeship has continued to be the method of recruiting young workers. The employees in most of the cities and large towns are well organized in trade unions and the working agreements between unions and employers' associations lay down the regulations for apprentices. In Ontario and western cities, the agreements between the employers and the locals of the Typographical Union require that apprentices shall not be less than 16 years old. These agreements cover many of the printing offices in most of the larger towns. This age restriction is not included in agreements with workers in the allied trades such as pressmen, bookbinders, electrotypers, stereotypers, lithographers and engravers. When the census was taken, there were 424 boys and 163 girls under 16 classed as apprentices. The apprentices over 16 and under 18 years old numbered 1,439, of whom 407 were girls. The total number of apprentices reported, then, was 2,026. Those classed as labourers numbered 29 under 16 and 50 others under 18 years of age.

Hours of labour in the larger printing establishments are generally determined by agreement between the trade unions and employers. They range from 44 to 48 a week. In smaller printing shops, they are longer.

The chief occupational diseases in the printing industry are tuberculosis, other diseases of the respiratory system, and plumbism.¹

"The most important of the industries using metallic lead is the printing trade, with its allied branches, electrotyping, stereotyping and typefounding The unhealthy features of the industry are these:—

"It is an indoor occupation often carried on in hot, stagnant air; it does not require much physical exertion and therefore the printer's circulation is likely to be sluggish and he is oversensitive to cold; the nervous strain is great, especially in newspaper work and on the linotype machines; and the printer is exposed to various poisonous substances, of which lead is the most important. The amount of lead in the air of printing shops is small and the amount which the printer gets on his hands is small, yet though lead poisoning is extremely rare as a cause of death among printers it is apparently an important cause of ill-health."²

The Factories Acts in Alberta and British Columbia lay down specific regulations for the carrying off of all noxious fumes and gases in printing offices. In Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, printing establishments are under the factory laws and the general provisions as to cleanliness, and the removal of dust and fumes apply to these places. The sections of the Ontario and Alberta Acts which forbid the taking of food into workrooms where deleterious gases and fumes are present are important in connection with printing establishments. There are no regulations applying to young persons particularly.

BOOTS AND SHOES

The boot and shoe manufacturing industry in Canada is practically limited to the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Less than 10 per cent of the Canadian-made products come from factories in other provinces. The census of industry taken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for 1927, showed an average of 15,433 persons employed in this industry, of whom 9,744 were in Quebec and 4,876 in Ontario.

Table 34 sets out the total number of workers in boot and shoe factories in Canada and in Quebec and Ontario in 1921, together with the number and percentage of juveniles among these workers. Foremen, office employees and messengers are not included as these employees are grouped in the census report with those in other leather trades.

¹Kober and Hayhurst, *Industrial Health*, New York, 1924, p. 251.

²Hamilton, *Lead Poisoning in the United States*, in Kober and Hayhurst, p. 454.

TABLE 34.—Total Number of Persons¹ Employed and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles, 10 to 15 Years and 16 and 17 Years of Age, Employed in Manufacture of Boots and Shoes in Canada and in Quebec and Ontario, 1921.

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario
All ages.....	9,839	5,850	3,383
10-13 years.....	39	35	2
14 years.....	171	98	68
15 years.....	400	231	158
10-15 years—			
Number.....	610	364	228
Per cent.....	6.2	6.2	6.7
16-17 years—			
Number.....	1,132	673	412
Per cent.....	11.5	11.5	12.2
10-17 years—			
Number.....	1,742	1,037	640
Per cent.....	17.7	17.7	18.9

¹Owners, managers, foremen, office employees and messengers not included.

Of the 610 juveniles under 16 years, 290 were girls. "Labourers" included 64 under 16 and 104 16 and 17 years old. The great number of machine operations, many of which are light and simple, permits the employment of a relatively large number of women and young persons. According to the industrial census of 1927, over 48 per cent of the boot and shoe workers were employed for a nine-hour day. Over 34 per cent worked 10 hours a day and more than 14 per cent for an eight-hour day. The balance, 2.6 per cent, were employed more than 10 hours.

BISCUITS AND CONFECTIONERY

More than one-fourth of all the persons employed as biscuit and confectionery makers in Canada in 1921 were under 18 years of age and over 8 per cent were under 16 years of age. In 1921, there were 6,410 persons engaged in the manufacture of biscuits and confectionery, not including labourers or office employees.¹ In 1927, the industrial census of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics showed an average of 10,363 wage-earners in this industry of whom 5,930 were females.

Table 35 shows the total number of persons and the number and percentage of juveniles employed as "biscuit and confectionery makers" in Canada in 1921. Over one-half were working in Ontario and over one-half the remainder in Quebec.

TABLE 35.—Total Number of Persons and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles, 10 to 15 Years and 16 and 17 Years of Age, Employed as Biscuit and Confectionery Makers in Canada and in Each Province, 1921.

	Canada	N.S.	N.S.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages.....	6,410	374	206	1,487	3,652	334	36	102	219
10-13 years.....	16	2	2	11	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
14 years.....	133	1	2	65	57	3	.....	1	4
15 years.....	381	12	1	115	225	19	.....	3	6
10-15 years—									
Number.....	530	15	5	191	283	22	.....	4	10
Per cent.....	8.3	4.0	(2.4)	12.8	7.7	6.6	.....	(3.9)	4.6
16-17 years—									
Number.....	1,167	56	21	319	624	82	5	16	44
Per cent.....	18.2	15.0	10.2	21.4	17.1	24.5	(13.9)	15.7	20.1
10-17 years—									
Number.....	1,697	71	26	510	907	104	5	20	54
Per cent.....	26.5	19.0	12.6	34.2	24.8	33.1	(13.9)	19.6	24.7

NOTE.—Where numbers are too small to be significant, percentages are enclosed in brackets.

¹Labourers and office employees in biscuit and confectionery factories are grouped in the census report with those in other food industries.

A relatively large proportion of the workers in this industry were under 16 years of age. In Ontario the proportion of those under 16 was 7·7 per cent; in Quebec 12·8 per cent. Juveniles of 16 and 17 years formed 18·2 per cent of the total in Canada, 21·4 per cent of the whole number in Quebec and 17·1 per cent in Ontario. Of the 530 juveniles under 16, 448 were girls. Of the 1,167 who were 16 or 17 years of age, 960 were girls.

Over 42 per cent of the workers in this industry in 1927 had a nine-hour day and over 31 per cent an eight-hour day. The remainder worked ten hours or more.

TOBACCO

The manufacture of cigars, cigarettes and other tobacco products in Canada is practically confined to Quebec and Ontario. In the latter province, the acreage devoted to tobacco has been increasing rapidly. The manufacture of cigars and cigarettes formed the third most important industry in Quebec in 1926, in so far as the value of the product was concerned, but the number of employees is proportionately few. According to the industrial census taken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the average number of persons employed in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes in 1928 in Canada was 6,644, of whom 5,297 were wage-earners. Of these, 3,331 were women and girls. In addition, there were 1,035 female and 762 male wage-earners in factories producing chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff in 1928, making a total of 4,366 women and girls and 2,728 men and boys working for wages in cigar and tobacco factories in Canada in 1928.

Table 36 shows the total number of persons and the number and percentage of juveniles employed in the manufacture of tobacco, cigars and cigarettes in Canada and in Quebec and Ontario in 1921.

TABLE 36.—Total Number of Persons¹ and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles, 10 to 15 and 16 and 17 Years of Age, Employed in the Manufacture of Tobacco and Cigarettes, in Canada and in Quebec and Ontario, 1921.

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario
All ages.....	6,158	4,971	973
10-13 years.....	28	26	1
14 years.....	129	122	4
15 years.....	278	256	15
10-15 years—			
Number.....	435	404	20
Per cent.....	7·1	8·1	2·1
16-17 years—			
Number.....	832	742	76
Per cent.....	13·5	14·9	7·8
10-17 years—			
Number.....	1,267	1,146	96
Per cent.....	20·6	23·1	9·9

¹Excludes owners, superintendents and managers.

Of the 6,158 employees in these industries, 4,971 were in Quebec and 973 in Ontario. Over 7 per cent were under 16 years of age and 13·5 per cent were 16 or 17 years old. Only in textile manufacture and the production of biscuits and confectionery was the proportion of juveniles as high as in tobacco factories. The number of girls employed was comparatively large. Of the 404 juveniles under 16 in Quebec, 248 were girls; of the 20 in Ontario, 16 were girls. Among the 742 juveniles in Quebec who were 16 and 17 years of age, 550 were girls. In Ontario 63 of the 76 young persons of these ages were girls. Of all those under 16 employed in these industries in Canada in 1921, nearly 84 per cent were girls, while over 74 per cent of the 16 and 17 year-old workers were girls.

About 65 per cent of the employees in tobacco factories in Canada were working nine hours a day in 1928. About 16 per cent had an eight-hour day and the rest a working day of ten hours or more.¹

There appears to be little agreement among the authorities as to the toxic or other effects of tobacco dust on the workers exposed to it. Modern methods of manufacture by machinery have displaced hand labour in a number of processes but the preliminary work of unpacking, separating and sorting the leaves is done by hand. The exposure to dust

¹Report on the Tobacco Manufacturing Industry in Canada, 1927-28, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1929. Mimeographed.

varies with the process and with the presence or absence of dust-removal devices. One writer states that the inhalation of dust together with the

"volatile, pungent tobacco odours incident to the various processes of selection, blending, fermentation, flavouring and saucing of tobacco, cannot fail to prove injurious."¹

On the other hand, Alice Hamilton declares that

"the general impression that tobacco dust is toxic to the workers in tobacco factories is not borne out by actual investigation of the physical condition of these workers. . . . There is also a general impression that tobacco dust is harmful to the lungs but here, too, detailed studies fail to reveal any increased incidence of tuberculosis among cigar makers."²

The study made by the Prudential Insurance Company of America covering the years, 1907-1912, showed a mortality among tobacco workers of 34·8 per cent from tuberculosis and 9·9 per cent from other diseases of the lungs

"which is far in excess of the rates for bakers, confectioners and others exposed to the inhalation of vegetable dust."³

Other factors, such as living conditions, are important in a study of tuberculosis and the cause of an unduly high rate may not be altogether in the occupation. Whatever dangers there may be in the handling of the tobacco are greater, of course, for adolescent workers.

The unhealthy appearance of the children employed in 1887-8 in tobacco factories in Canada was referred to in the report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the relations between capital and labour.⁴ The minimum age for factory employment in Quebec at that time was 12 for boys and 14 for girls but following the publication of the report of the Commission, the employment of boys under 14 and girls under 15 years of age in cigar and tobacco factories was prohibited by a Quebec statute of 1890. In 1894 this section of the 1890 statute was repealed and there is now no distinction between employment in tobacco and other factories.

In the United States, seventeen states forbid the employment of children under 16 in cigar and tobacco manufacture, and in the District of Columbia such employment is prohibited to those under 18.

RUBBER

Over 68 per cent of the persons employed in the rubber industry in Canada were working in Ontario in 1927. About 31 per cent were in Quebec and the balance in British Columbia. The average number of employees in this industry in 1927 was 15,069 of whom 13,169 were wage-earners. Of these, 3,318 were females.

Table 37 gives the total number of persons, exclusive of owners and managers, together with the number and per cent of juveniles employed in the rubber industry in Canada and in Ontario and Quebec in 1921.

TABLE 37.—Total Number of Persons¹ and Number and Per Cent of Juveniles, 10-15 Years and 16 and 17 Years of Age, Employed in the Manufacture of Rubber Goods in Canada and in Quebec and Ontario, 1921.

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario
All ages	8,388	2,704	5,361
10-13 years.....	8	7	1
14 years.....	61	26	33
15 years.....	222	95	122
10-15 years—			
Number.....	291	128	156
Percent.....	3·5	4·7	2·9
16-17 years—			
Number.....	788	354	414
Per cent.....	9·4	13·1	7·7
10-17 years—			
Number.....	1,079	482	570
Per cent.....	12·9	17·8	10·6

¹Excludes owners, managers and superintendents.

¹Kober and Hayhurst, *Industrial Health*, Philadelphia, 1924, p. 228.

²Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States*, New York, 1925.

³Kober & Hayhurst, p. 223.

⁴See p. 109 of this publication.

Of the 291 workers under 16 years of age, 127 were girls. Of the 788 juveniles who were 16 and 17 years old, 391 were girls. Among all those under 16, 38 were classed as office employees or messengers. In the higher age-group, 95 were office employees or messengers. Compared with the metal trades, saw mills, pulp and paper mills or clothing factories, rubber goods factories have a high proportion of young workers, particularly those 16 and 17 years of age, but the actual number employed at these ages is less than in any of the other manufacturing industries under consideration.

The census of industry taken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1927 shows over 38 per cent of the employees in rubber goods factories working eight hours a day, 29½ per cent working nine hours and 28 per cent ten hours. Establishments making rubber footwear are grouped separately. In the latter, only 4·9 per cent of the workers had an eight-hour day, over 75 per cent worked nine hours a day, and over 17 per cent for 10 hours. In both kinds of factories a small number of persons employed in maintenance work were at work more than 10 hours. About 68 per cent of the female wage-earners in rubber goods factories were employed in those making rubber footwear.

There are several chemicals used in rubber manufacture which have more or less poisonous properties. Among these are lead, anilin, benzol, antimony, carbon disulphide and various petroleum products.

"The processes of rubber manufacture are many and varied and there is a great difference in the extent to which the men and women employed in the different branches are exposed to the danger of poisonous dusts and of poisonous fumes."¹

A report issued by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics in 1915² stated that: "all of the really dangerous work is done by men, not women or boys."

Benzol poisoning was made a compensable disease under the Workmen's Compensation Act of Ontario in 1924, and in Alberta both benzol and anilin poisoning are compensable under a 1928 statute.

"Benzol, which is a blood poison causing hemorrhage and profound anaemia, is especially dangerous for the young. Out of 34 published cases of serious poisoning, 25 were young persons; and out of 19 deaths, 15 were in this group. The International Labour Bureau advises that all occupations attended with possible exposure to lead dust or fumes be forbidden to young persons, i.e., those under 18 years of age. The same prohibition should be extended to cover all substances in any industry which are known to be poisonous."³

APPRENTICES

Apprenticeship as a definite and fixed relationship between an employer and one whom he has contracted in writing to teach or cause to be taught some trade for a specified period of time has survived in relatively few industries in Canada.⁴ The rapid development of industry in a new country where labour was scarce tended to the abandonment of a system which restricted jobs to those who had served an apprenticeship of some years. Moreover, the factory system with its increased use of mechanical methods and great specialization of processes has reduced the need for all-round craftsmen and has created a demand for machine tenders who acquire within a short time a certain degree of skill in handling a particular machine. In many trades, therefore, juveniles working alongside adult workers obtain some knowledge of the operations performed and after a few years' experience may themselves be able to perform some of these operations, without any definite obligation on the part of the employer to teach them and learning only enough to operate one or two machines. Further, the great increase in this specialized work which offers relatively high earnings to begin with has led young persons to take the short view and accept higher wages with little prospect of advancement in the future rather than be content for a few years with low wages as learners in order to become skilled workers later with the comparative security of employment and permanently high wages their skill might command. In such skilled work as the printing trades require, however, apprenticeship under written contract is still the recognized form of entry in the larger establishments while in some other trades a looser form of apprenticeship exists by which a young person takes up work under an oral or implied agreement as to training in accordance with the

¹Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States*, New York, 1928, p. 523.

²*Industrial Poisons used in the Rubber Industry*, Washington, 1915, Bulletin No. 179.

³Hamilton, *in The Doctor Looks at Child Labour*, National Child Labour Committee, New York, 1929.

⁴For apprenticeship in the building trades, see pp. 64-65.

known conditions obtaining in the plant. The apprenticeship systems in force in the car shops of the Canadian railway companies are notable examples of the work undertaken by some large concerns for the training of their employees.

Along with the considerable extension of technical education through the financial assistance of the Dominion Government under the Technical Education Act of 1919,¹ there has been a growing tendency in recent years to revive the practice of formally apprenticing juveniles to a trade and so ensure a broader shop training in the processes of the industry. Definite steps in this direction have been taken in the building trades² and the number of apprentices in other industries has been increasing. In the Annual Report of the Department of Labour of British Columbia for 1928 the Deputy Minister of Labour comments on the greater number of apprentices reported in recent years as follows:—

“Reference is made in the statistical section of this report to the continued increase in the number of apprentices, and in view of the importance of this phase of industrial life I am of the opinion that the time has arrived when a law to govern the employment of apprentices should be seriously considered.....Last year attention was drawn to the increase in the number of apprentices during the last few years, and it is pleasing to again register a gain for 1928, the number being 1,628. This is almost double the number given for 1924, which was 898, advancing to 1,115 in 1925, 1,281 in 1926, and 1,554 in 1927.”

Of this number, 264 were in the building trades, 12 in mining and 358 in the operation of public utilities. Printing and publishing employed 194 and the metal trades 298.

The report on the census, 1921, classes 1,790 young persons under 16 years of age, and 5,232 young persons 16 and 17 years of age as apprentices in manufacturing industries. Table 38 sets out the number of male and female apprentices in the factory trades in 1921.

TABLE 38.—Number of Apprentices, 10 to 13, 14 and 15, and 16 and 17 Years of Age, by Trade and Sex, 1921

Trade	10-13 years		14-15 years		16-17 years	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bakers.....	7	.....	180	16	473	40
Butchers.....	2	.....	21	.....	51	.....
Harness makers.....	2	.....	29	.....	62	.....
Blacksmiths and helpers.....	.....	.....	3	.....	22	.....
Boiler makers and helpers.....	.....	.....	12	.....	76	.....
Machinists and millwrights.....	6	.....	167	.....	859	.....
Moulders.....	3	.....	68	.....	291	1
Tinsmiths.....	4	.....	47	.....	167	1
Stone cutters.....	.....	.....	5	.....	13	.....
Dressmakers and seamstress.....	.....	11	.....	233	.....	753
Milliners.....	.....	5	.....	124	3	371
Tailors and tailoresses.....	1	3	103	75	245	208
Cabinet and furniture makers.....	.....	.....	27	.....	19	2
Coopers.....	.....	.....	11	.....	35	.....
Upholsterers.....	2	.....	32	4	88	8
Printers, bookbinders, etc.....	8	1	416	162	1,032	407
Total.....	35	20	1,121	614	3,436	1,796

Printing and bookbinding accounted for 587 apprentices under 16 and 1,439 over 16 and under 18 years of age. In the metal trades, which cover employment in railway car shops, there were 308 apprentices under 16 and 1,727 16 and 17 years of age. Of these 1,032 were training for work as machinists and millwrights and all but the tinsmiths apprentices were in the iron and steel industry. Girl apprentices in the clothing trade numbered 1,002 learning dressmaking, 635 tailoring and 499 millinery. The term apprentice as applied to a girl in these trades means little more than a beginner. There is seldom any formal agreement but she is trained in the work and wages are increased as her skill increases.

¹See pp. 95-96.

²See p. 65

LABOURERS

There is in every industry a demand for general labour, for workers with physical strength and endurance but with no particular training and no skill. Such workers receive the lowest wages and work the longest hours. They are the first to be dismissed in times of trade depression and the last to be taken on when industry begins to expand again, and, necessarily, have to be the chief applicants for relief. The following comment by His Majesty's Superintending Inspector for Scotland on the position of young labourers indicates the continuous process at work in building up a class of general labourers:—

"It is seldom that an unskilled labourer can afford to put his sons to any trade; their maintenance during apprenticeship is too costly. Consequently the sons of labourers tend to become labourers, they take up work which promises high pay in early youth, but at most such jobs are 'dead end' in character, the men come on the market again later as general labourers. The position, then, of the unskilled town labourers in the past has been rather a hopeless one and it is not surprising to find the standard of health and physique low in their class."¹

In an older industrial country such as Britain, the condition of general labourers is more serious than in Canada but the premature removal of children from school and their absorption without vocational training in industries where they are put at jobs they can perform without such training and where they are unlikely to have any opportunity of acquiring skill for a particular task or trade, condemn such juveniles to the life of general labourers. With the greater development of industry in the future and succeeding generations of labourers, the condition of these workers will tend to become worse unless some measures are taken to keep the number to a minimum and to safeguard the working and living conditions so that health and physique are not injured. No doubt the work done by some of these young labourers could be carried on by mechanical means or by men, handicapped by age or otherwise.

"The jobs that these young people under 16 get are almost all unskilled. They are openings that offer little or no possibility for future advance. The children of that age rarely desire to learn a trade, and seldom have the patience to stick to it. Their carelessness makes the manufacturer and craftsmen refuse to train them. There are, however, numerous unskilled jobs where adult labour is too expensive but where it is profitable to employ children. The Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education reported that 'the fourteen-year old child enters unskilled industry and remains there.'"²

Table 39 shows the total number of labourers and the number of juvenile labourers in the manufacturing industries reported at the census, 1921. The enumerators who took the census were instructed to avoid the use of the word "labourer" if any more precise statement of the occupation could be secured. "Employees in factories and mills, for example, usually have some definite designation, as weaver, roller, puddler, etc."³ It is possible that a number of the young workers classed as labourers were acting as helpers to workmen with some degree of skill. In such cases, there might be an opportunity of learning to perform the operation involved and of rising above the position of general labourer. Owing to the way in which the census information is published, it is not possible in many cases to indicate the particular industry in which the labourers are employed.

¹H. J. Wilson, *Employment and the Distribution of Industries in Their Relation to the Growth and Physical Development of the Young Wage-earners*. *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, January, 1921.

²Douglas, *American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education*, New York, 1921, p. 96.

³Extracts from book of instructions. Census, 1921. Vol. IV, p. x.

TABLE 39.—Number of Labourers of all Ages and Number and Per Cent of Juvenile Labourers in Manufacturing Industries in Canada, 1921

Industry	All ages	10-13 years	14-15 years	16-17 years	10-17 years	
					Number	Per cent
All industries.....	115,205	224	3,484	7,857	11,565	10.0
Dairies.....	1,138	4	36	118	158	13.9
Fish curing and canning.....	1,405	16	47	81	144	10.2
Slaughtering and packing.....	1,706	2	21	91	114	6.7
Boots and shoes.....	514	4	60	104	168	32.7
Leather goods.....	1,022	1	25	54	80	7.8
Furs.....	132	2	18	32	52	39.4
Chemicals.....	1,703	1	61	133	195	11.4
Iron and steel.....	19,876	8	292	902	1,202	6.0
Miscellaneous.....	2,857	3	72	169	244	8.5
Non-ferrous metals.....	2,485	2	78	211	291	11.7
Non-metallic minerals.....	7,753	14	141	396	551	7.1
Textiles.....	4,346	12	439	553	1,004	23.1
Clothing.....	1,823	1	31	112	144	7.9
Hats and caps.....	72	1	4	10	15	20.1
Vegetable foods.....	4,642	13	164	353	530	1.1
Liquors and beverages.....	1,135	1	30	69	100	8.8
Rubber.....	1,493	.....	57	129	186	12.5
Tobacco.....	676	7	58	70	135	19.6
Woodworking.....	35,732	98	1,133	2,574	3,805	10.6
Pulp and paper.....	12,252	17	277	790	1,084	8.8
Printing.....	524	2	27	50	79	15.1
Unspecified.....	11,919	15	413	856	1,284	10.8

The large proportion of unskilled work in such establishments as dairies and condenseries, fish canneries, meat-packing plants, woodworking factories and pulp and paper mills, is indicated in the census report by the relatively large number of labourers while the number of skilled or semi-skilled operations is shown to be comparatively high in printing and allied trades, textile manufacture and in the metal trades. There is a much larger proportion of juvenile labourers among the general labourers employed in some industries than others. Where most of the work requires some training or experience, the number of general workers may be relatively few and the proportion of juveniles high as in the manufacture of textiles, fur goods, hats and caps, boots and shoes, tobacco and cigarettes and printing and allied trades. On the other hand, certain industries employ a large proportion of labourers but the work is heavy or hazardous and the number of young labourers comparatively small as in the iron and steel trades, non-metallic minerals, woodworking and pulp and paper industries.

CONSTRUCTION

The sub-groups under the head of construction in the census report include excavation work and the construction of buildings, canals and waterways, highways and bridges, railways, waterworks, gas works and sewers and shipbuilding. There were 4 children under 14 years of age, 16, 14 years of age, 66, 15 years of age and 310, 16 or 17 years of age employed in the shipbuilding industry in 1921. Nearly all of these were labourers or general workers in shipyards in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario or British Columbia. These workers are not included in the figures given in this section.

Table 40 shows the total number of persons and of juveniles of certain ages employed in construction work, other than shipbuilding, as enumerated at the census, 1921.

TABLE 40.—Number of Persons of all Ages and of Juveniles Employed in Construction in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages.....	176,299	1,002	9,816	6,814	47,444	73,410	10,327	6,901	6,995	14,220
10-13 years.....	37	.....	1	4	28	3	.....	.....	1	.....
14 years.....	269	1	7	10	115	121	7	1	4	3
15 years.....	664	4	39	25	266	235	31	22	10	32
10-15 years.....	970	5	47	39	409	359	38	23	15	35
16-17 years.....	3,303	15	257	114	1,251	1,250	115	74	67	160
10-17 years.....	4,273	20	304	153	1,660	1,609	153	97	82	195

At the time the census, 1921, was taken, there were 970 children under 16 employed in construction work in Canada. In Quebec, there were 409 and in Ontario 359. The number of juveniles over 16 and under 18 was 3,303, of whom 1,251 were in Quebec and 1,250 in Ontario. A small proportion of these young workers were classed as office employees, messengers and "other workers." Most of them were reported as apprentices or labourers. Construction work is largely seasonal and juveniles who work for a few months on some construction job may take up work in another industry when opportunity offers. There has been steady expansion in the construction industry since 1921. The index number of employment in construction and maintenance work calculated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on the basis of the average number employed in 1926 stood at 68·7 in June, 1921, and at 136·8 in June, 1928. The Annual Report of the British Columbia Department of Labour shows the number of boys under 18 years of age employed in 1921 in construction work in that province to be 140 and in 1926, 136. In addition there were 36 apprentices in 1921 and 226 in 1926. In 1927, there were 395 youths under 21 years and 252 apprentices; in 1928, 340 minors and 264 apprentices in the construction industry in British Columbia. These figures relate to the week of greatest employment in each year.

Table 41 indicates the distribution by ages and provinces of the juveniles who were classed as apprentices or labourers.

TABLE 41.—Total Number, and Number of Juvenile Apprentices and Labourers in Construction Industry in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages—										
Apprentices....	3,385	12	265	124	1,351	1,153	155	54	69	202
Labourers.....	29,030	94	1,186	904	7,344	14,364	1,316	942	951	1,929
10-13 years—										
Apprentices....	8	.....	1	1	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Labourers.....	26	.....	.....	3	20	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
14 years—										
Apprentices....	155	1	5	4	54	84	2	.....	3	2
Labourers.....	90	.....	2	6	54	21	4	1	1	1
15 years—										
Apprentices....	405	1	29	15	167	131	23	8	6	25
Labourers.....	189	2	8	9	75	74	6	6	3	6
10-15 years—										
Apprentices....	568	2	35	20	227	215	25	8	9	27
Labourers.....	305	2	10	18	149	98	10	7	4	7
16-17 years—										
Apprentices....	1,959	8	170	77	799	641	74	42	36	112
Labourers.....	1,019	6	72	32	344	442	32	26	27	38
10-17 years—										
Apprentices....	2,527	10	205	97	1,026	856	99	50	45	139
Labourers.....	1,324	8	82	50	493	540	42	33	31	45

There is a great deal of unskilled work in connection with all forms of construction and a large number of general labourers is employed. Table 38 shows 29,030 labourers at work in 1921 in the various kinds of construction included under this heading in the census report. Of this number, 1,324 were under 18 years of age and 305 were under 16.¹

The skilled workmen in the building trades are well organized in trade unions and the constitutions of these unions and the agreements under which their members work contain rules regarding apprentices which have been more or less stringently enforced. With the expansion in building after the war, the lack of a sufficient number of skilled workers was a matter of considerable concern to employers. Various proposals were made to the Association of Canadian Building and Construction Industries² and between 1921 and 1928 some of the schemes suggested for the training of apprentices were tried out in different cities. Experience in Toronto and Hamilton seemed to indicate that government supervision was desirable for any scheme involving uniform regulations and assessment of employers and, in consequence, the Legislature of Ontario enacted the Apprenticeship Act, 1928.

This statute regulates apprenticeship in the building trades which are designated in the statute and those to which it has been, or may be, extended by order in council. Since the industry requires a large proportion of skilled workmen who must acquire knowledge of their trade as apprentices or under some other system of industrial training, the statutory regulation of apprenticeship in the building trades is important from the point of view of the industry itself. The stipulations that apprentices shall not be less than 16 years of age and that no minors shall be employed in the designated trades for more than three months except as apprentices will serve to restrict the employment of juveniles under 16 in these trades in Ontario and encourage their remaining at school until they are 16. The statute as enacted applied only to brick-laying, masonry, carpentry, painting and decorating and plastering but it has been extended to plumbing and steamfitting, sheet metal work and electrical wiring and installation. Regulations fix the ratio of apprentices to journeymen in each trade, the term of apprenticeship, the wages to be paid and the nature of the trade and school training. Under these regulations, apprentices are required to attend special day classes for a period of eight weeks of five eight-hour days or 320 class hours during each of the first and second years of apprenticeship. Weekly allowances are paid to apprentices attending these classes and, if necessary, railway fares are paid to the nearest town where such special classes are held. Third and fourth year apprentices are required to attend evening classes twice a week from October to March, inclusive, if such instruction is available. The fees for these classes are paid by the apprentices. A medical examination may be required and apprentices must have completed the work of the junior fourth book in public school or its equivalent. All contracts of apprenticeship are required to be registered with the provincial inspector of apprenticeship appointed under the Act.

In October, 1930, the Ontario Inspector of Apprenticeship stated that there were 1,386 apprentices registered on that date. There were distributed among the trades as follows:—

Brick-laying.....	163
Masonry.....	12
Carpentry.....	159
Painting and decorating.....	51
Plastering.....	95
Plumbing.....	432
Steamfitting.....	129
Sheet metal.....	135
Electric installation.....	210

Juvenile employment in the construction industry, unlike that in mining or manufacturing or in mercantile establishments, is not governed directly by any legislation except the Ontario Apprenticeship Act. School attendance laws affect the employment of children of compulsory school age during school hours in building and construction as they affect such employment in all branches of trade and industry but except for the limitations imposed by these laws, employment in the construction industry is open to children of any age who are able to help in the work.

¹See section on Labourers, under Manufactures, pp. 62-63.

²Now the Canadian Construction Association.

TRANSPORTATION

The total number of persons and the number of juveniles employed, in 1921, in the various branches of the transportation industry, including the communication services of telephone and telegraph operation, are set out in Table 42.

TABLE 42.—Number of Persons and of Juveniles Employed in Transportation Industry, 1921

	All branches	Express services	Local trans- portation	Steam railways	Street railways	Water trans- portation	Allied occupa- tions
All ages.....	247,410	5,463	47,923	120,560	13,069	22,846	37,549
10-13 years.....	69	6	17	14	2	10	20
14 years.....	385	18	110	89	6	33	129
15 years.....	1,196	35	265	356	13	85	442
10-15 years.....	1,650	59	392	459	21	128	591
16-17 years.....	7,603	145	1,414	2,426	97	622	2,899
10-17 years.....	9,253	204	1,806	2,885	118	750	3,490

Of the 1,650 juveniles under 16 years of age, the largest group, 591, were employed in "occupations allied to transportation." Of these, 278 were telephone operators. Steam railway companies employed 459, and 392 were working in connection with local transportation, most of them as teamsters or drivers. Telephone and telegraph services employed the largest number of the older juveniles. Telephone operators accounted for 2,009, and telegraph operators for 156 of the 16 and 17-year-old workers. Together with office employees and messengers, the number employed in these services would probably exceed the 2,426 juveniles of these ages employed in connection with steam railways.

Among the 1,650 under 16, only 318 were girls. Of the 7,603 over 16 years of age, 2,726 were girls. Telephone and telegraph offices employed the great majority of the girls of all ages.

Messengers and office boys included 509 under 16 and 605 over 16 and under 18. Over half of these were working in steam railway offices and 483 in occupations allied to transportation, principally telegraph and telephone offices. There were 140 office employees 15 years of age and 1,184 who were 16 or 17 years old. Labourers numbered 241 under 16 and 1,085 over 16 and under 18.

In all the occupational divisions of this group the proportions of workers who are under 18 and of those under 16 are somewhat smaller than in other industries. This condition is, of course, only to be expected in view of the hazardous nature of the transportation industries and of the large number of occupations requiring strong or skilled workers. Employment in railway car shops is classified with other iron and steel manufacturing and the elaborate apprenticeship system for the training of railroad mechanics was referred to in the section of this publication on manufactures.

The only provincial legislation affecting young persons employed in connection with land or water transportation or in telephone or telegraph operation is contained in the school attendance laws and statutes governing messengers¹ and office workers.² In addition, the Canada Shipping Act forbids the employment of children under 14 or of trimmers and stokers under 18, except on certain conditions, in ships other than those on inland waters.

TRADE

Juvenile employment in shops in Canada is fourth in numerical importance to that in agriculture, manufacturing, and domestic and personal service.

Table 43 gives the total number of persons and the number of juveniles returned by the census enumerators as employed in "trade" in Canada in 1921. This class includes retail and wholesale stores, hawking and peddling, and commercial agencies.

¹For juveniles in street trades, see pp. 73-74 and 125-132.

²For juveniles in offices, see p. 72.

TABLE 43.—Number of Persons and of Juveniles Employed in Trade in Canada and in Each Province, 1921

—	Canada	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
All ages.....	310,439	1,995	15,462	11,668	77,410	120,475	25,892	17,091	16,559	23,887
10-13 years.....	378	2	11	13	226	82	10	17	5	12
14 years.....	1,663	4	57	39	729	583	99	40	12	100
15 years.....	3,896	13	152	145	1,149	1,674	296	125	79	243
10-15 years.....	5,937	19	220	197	2,104	2,339	405	182	96	265
16-17 years.....	14,970	86	822	570	3,963	6,050	1,340	607	547	985
10-17 years.....	20,907	105	1,042	767	6,067	8,389	1,745	789	643	1,250

In 1921, there were 5,937 boys and girls under 16 and 14,970 juveniles 16 and 17 years of age working in mercantile establishments in Canada. Of the total number of the employees included in this group, 1.9 per cent were under 16 years of age and 6.7 per cent under 18. The proportion of juveniles varied considerably from one province to another. These figures do not include school children who work about shops before or after school hours or on Saturdays but relate only to the juveniles who are employed at full-time work. Employment outside school hours is dealt with in a later section of this publication.¹

Among the juveniles under 16 working in these places, 1,701 were girls. In the older age-group, 6,223 were girls. The children under 14 employed about shops numbered 314 boys and 64 girls. Of those under 14, 226 were employed in Quebec and 82 in Ontario. Of those under 16, 2,339 were in Ontario and 2,104 in Quebec. Of the 16- and 17-year-old group, 6,050 were working in Ontario and 3,963 in Quebec.

The census report classifies 174 children under 14 as salesmen and women, 59 of whom were employed in grocery stores and 46 in general or department stores. The 1,663 14-year-old juveniles included 787 salesmen and saleswomen, 189 of whom were in grocery stores and 181 in general or department stores. There were 3,896 juveniles 15 years of age, of whom 2,124 were classed as salesmen, 524 in grocery stores and 585 in general or department stores. Of this group 264 were employed in dry goods stores. Among the 14,970 juveniles 16 or 17 years of age 9,594 were reported as salesmen, 3,018 in general or department stores, 1,921 in stores selling groceries, 1,173 in dry goods, 463 in meat and fish and 463 in confectionery stores.

Deliverymen employed in connection with shops numbered 11,284 of whom 1,347 were under 18 years of age and 463 under 16. There were 256 office employees who were 15 years old and 1,694 who were over 16 and under 18. Labourers in this group included 205 under 16 and 517 over 16 and under 18 years of age. Messengers, bundle and office boys in shops included 126 under 14, 583 14 years of age, 737 15 years of age and 786 16 and 17 years of age. There were 6 girls in this group under 14, 51 who were 14 years old, 30, 15 years old and 43 over 16 and under 18. Most of the younger girls were probably acting as parcel wrappers or cash girls and with the increasing use of mechanical means for carrying change or the decentralization of cash and wrapping activities, the number of the youngest and least trained workers is likely to have decreased.

Another factor tending to reduce the number of younger girls in stores has been the establishment of minimum rates of wages for women and girls employed in these places in the five provinces, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The total number of persons employed in shops has, of course, increased with the general growth of trade and since all the provincial minimum wage orders distinguish only between girls under 18 and those over 18 it is impossible to determine how great the decrease has been in the number employed under 16 and how great the increase in the number of those over 16 and under 18 years of age. In Ontario, the first Order of the Minimum Wage Board relating to mercantile employment was issued in 1921, and in Alberta in 1923. In Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia minimum wages of female employees were fixed prior to 1921. The report of the Ontario Minimum Wage Board for 1928 compares the numbers employed in 1921 and in 1928. The figures show a decrease from 363 to 232 in the number of girls under 18 employed in "a number of

¹See pp. 75-76.

typical stores, the same stores, on the whole, having been taken throughout the years compared." In Toronto in 1921 there were 42 girls under 18 years of age working in the retail stores reported. In 1928, this number had increased to 70. In department stores in Toronto having more than 150 employees there were 406 girls under 18 in 1921 and 415 in 1928. These numbers represent 14.6 per cent and 9.6 per cent of the total number of girls and women employed in these stores in these years. Throughout the rest of the province, however, both the number and proportion of girls under 18 in retail stores show a decrease. In cities of over 30,000 population, in 1921, girls under 18 formed 17.1 per cent of the female employees of retail stores reported to the Board. In 1928, the percentage was 5.2. In towns from 5,000 to 30,000 population, the decrease in the proportion of girls under 18 was from 10.1 per cent to 9.2 per cent. How much of this reduction is due to the Adolescent School Attendance Act, fixing a school-leaving age of 16 except with special permit, how much to employers requiring older and more competent help in return for higher wages for the youngest workers and how much is due to the increasing prosperity during this period it is impossible to determine from the available information.

It is probable that a considerable proportion of the commercial and industrial workers in urban communities have been employed in shops at some time during the period between leaving school and finding more or less permanent employment. In all occupations, the younger the worker, the greater the instability and the more frequent the changes from one job to another. The rapid turnover among juvenile workers is due, of course, to a variety of causes, some of which arise from the juvenile's own characteristics and some from the nature of the jobs. The child's or youth's lack of discipline, his dissatisfaction with the position, the chance of a better job or return to school, his inability to satisfy the employer, reductions in staff or replacement by a still younger juvenile, all these conditions may affect the same worker in different jobs. Running errands and carrying parcels from shops is one of the most frequent occupations of school children and of the juveniles who leave school at the minimum age. Such work may lead only to a blind alley and those who take it up may shift to some other occupation within the same or another store or move into a different industry without having received real training for any occupation. Whether it is a blind-alley job or not depends to a large extent on both the employer and the juvenile. Some large stores are, however, giving special attention to recruiting their staffs from the juveniles who enter as messengers or parcel boys and girls. Those who have the capacity and apply themselves to their work are successful in passing the tests given them and are then gradually trained for other work as they show aptitude.

There is little legislation directly governing the employment of juveniles in shops in Canada. A section in Part III of this publication deals with the statutory regulation of juvenile employment in shops.¹

FINANCE

The census report on Occupations contains a section on Finance which covers banks, investment, loan and insurance companies and real estate dealers. Juveniles employed by these companies are either clerical workers or messengers and office boys. Banks give employment to the largest number in both age-groups.

Clerks in banks in 1921 included 182 boys and 33 girls 15 years of age and 1,924 boys and 433 girls over 16 and under 18. The number of clerks in all places in this group was 253 boys and 86 girls 15 years of age and 2,040 boys and 1,330 girls 16 or 17 years old, or 339 under 16 and 3,709 under 18 years of age.

Messengers and office boys employed by banks numbered 107 under 16 years of age and 134 over that age and under 18. Messengers and office boys in all the offices in this group included 11 under 14, 105 at 14 years of age, 110 at 15 and 211 at 16 or 17 years of age, making a total of 223 under 16 and 434 under 18.

Clerical workers employed by financial concerns are given opportunity for promotion in accordance with their education and experience and usually remain with the company or move into a similar occupation under another employer. Juveniles as messengers or office boys, like all persons in this sort of work, are likely to leave their job for some other, better or of the same kind, but as they are frequently boys who have left school before receiving anything more than education from an elementary school, they are unlikely to advance very far unless they are directed to some employment where they can be trained for a higher grade of work.

¹See pp. 121-125.

SERVICE

The industrial group, Service, in the census report, "includes custom and repair work (such as blacksmiths, boot and shoe repairers, garage repairmen, watch repairers and so on); domestic and personal service; professional service (actuaries, architects, engineers, educationists, dentists, physicians, lawyers, clergymen and religious workers generally); employees of federal and provincial governments and of municipalities; recreational service (employees in and about theatres, amusement parks, etc.)."¹

Juveniles employed in professional service in 1921 numbered 127 under 16 and 2,656 over 16 and under 18 years of age. The younger group was made up mostly of office employees and there were a few classed as photographers' employees, musicians and law clerks. The juveniles over 16 included 1,125 teachers, 872 office employees, 183 nurses in training, 113 photographers' employees, 110 musicians or teachers of music, 100 religious workers and 62 law clerks. These workers had received or were receiving training for some definite occupation and need not be considered further.

Federal, provincial and municipal authorities were reported by census enumerators as employing 18 children under 14, 58 at 14 years of age, 242 at 15 years of age and 1,376 at 16 or 17 years of age. Most of these were classed as messengers or clerks. Labourers numbered 62 under 16 years of age and 257 over 16 and under 18. Included in this group were 77 sailors.

CUSTOM AND REPAIR SERVICE

Juveniles in custom and repair work may be given an opportunity to learn skilled or semi-skilled work. The class covers the repairing of bicycles, boots and shoes, automobiles, locks and guns, watches and jewellery and includes dyeing and cleaning, picture framing and blacksmithing. There were 26 children under 14 years of age, 107, 14 years old, 370, 15 years old and 1,481 over 16 and under 18 who were reported by the Census enumerators as employed in these occupations in 1921. Only 8 were girls under 16, and 17 were girls 16 and 17 years of age.

Of the juveniles under 16 years of age, 271 were classed as apprentices. Of those over 16, 652 were apprentices. Boot and shoe repairers employed 13 apprentices under 14 years of age, 32 at 14 years, 78 at 15 years, and 241 over 16 and under 18. Blacksmiths' apprentices included 5 under 14, 30 at 14 years, 70 at 15 years and 292 at 16 or 17 years of age. Watch and jewellery repairers employed 5 apprentices who were 14 years old, 38 who were 15 years old and 119 who were 16 or 17 years old.

Employment in places where custom and repair work is carried on may fall under the factory laws of some provinces or under the Shops Acts. In some cases, such work-places may not be within the scope of any labour law since the number of those employed might have to be taken into account,² but the school attendance Act would limit the number employed under the school-leaving age of the particular province.

DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE

Within the domestic and personal service group are included attendants and guards, barbers and hairdressers, boot-blacks, charworkers, private chauffeurs, elevator tenders, laundry workers, porters, messengers and bell-boys, servants, waiters and waitresses, window cleaners, and office employees and labourers employed by concerns furnishing these services. It is apparent that a large number of employed juveniles and particularly girls will come within this class. The occupations in the group can be followed by young persons of little education and require only a brief period of training. The wages are relatively low and the turnover is likely to be rapid. But, on the whole, juveniles, though perhaps not the same juveniles in the same jobs, may continue to follow these occupations after they have passed the age of 18.

Table 44 shows the total number of persons and the number of juveniles, by sex, employed in 1921 in domestic and personal service in Canada.

¹Census, 1921, vol. IV, p. ix.

²See section on Factory Legislation, p. 110.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

TABLE 44.—Number of Persons and of Juveniles of Both Sexes Employed in Domestic and Personal Service in Canada, 1921¹

	All ages		10-13 years		14 years		15 years		10-15 years		16-17 years	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	80,013	134,539	102	776	254	1,904	509	3,750	865	6,430	1,862	13,496
Attendants and guards.....	4,415	3,952	3	18	13	25	21	70	37	113	113	334
Barbers' and hair-dressers' apprentices.....	313	77	4	2	17	3	28	12	49	17	166	42
Boot blacks.....	627	3	3	.....	20	.....	29	.....	52	.....	59	2
Charworkers and cleaners.....	241	6,251	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	58
Chauffeurs (private).....	1,939	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29	.....
Elevator tenders.....	1,332	199	.....	.....	1	2	17	1	18	3	70	16
Laundry workers.....	4,030	2,611	9	7	13	52	28	124	50	183	81	427
Porters, messengers and bell boys.....	1,849	5	9	.....	29	.....	69	1	107	1	174	.....
Servants, n.o.s.....	5,805	78,118	59	747	114	1,751	183	3,383	356	5,881	601	11,542
Waiters and waitresses.....	4,465	6,372	5	2	19	70	49	116	73	188	185	782
Window cleaners.....	304	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Other personal service.....	390	303	4	.....	6	1	20	2	30	3	66	18
Office employees.....	3,257	1,713	.....	.....	.....	.....	33	40	33	40	175	181
Labourers.....	3,218	28	6	.....	22	.....	32	1	60	1	133	4

¹Occupations in which no juveniles are employed are omitted.

The number of charwomen, female servants and waitresses far exceeds the number of men and boys in all age groups in these occupations. Charwork is frequently taken up by older women and the census figures indicate this. Among female servants and waitresses, the proportions who are under 18 years of age are 22.3 per cent and 15.2 per cent respectively. Of the females employed in laundries, 23.4 per cent are under 18. In these occupations, as in nearly all in which women are employed, the proportion of girls under 18 is higher than the proportion of youths in the same or other occupations. The decline in the number of employed women due to marriage is rapid after the ages from 20 to 24 years.

Only school attendance laws would restrict employment in all the occupations in this group. Certain occupations would fall under other statutes. Laundry workers are within the factory laws and they and hairdressers' apprentices and waitresses are included in the minimum wage regulations of some provinces. An order of the Manitoba Minimum Wage Board of January 18, 1925, forbade the employment of girls under 16 in hotels, restaurants or refreshment rooms in any part of the province and another order of June 15, 1925, prohibited the employment of girls under 16 in hairdressing establishments and beauty parlours. The Saskatchewan Minimum Wage Board has issued a regulation, effective from September 1, 1928, prohibiting the employment of girls under 16, and of girls under 18 after eight o'clock in the evening, in hotels, restaurants or refreshment rooms in the cities of Saskatchewan. A minimum age is fixed for chauffeurs under the Motor Vehicles Acts and for elevator operators under special statutes.

RECREATIONAL SERVICE

Employment of juveniles in places of amusement is not extensive according to the census report. The enumerators recorded only 9 under 14 years of age, 35 at 14 years, 96 at 15 years and 305 at 16 or 17 years of age. Theatres employed 7 actors under 16 years of age and 23 over 16 and under 18. Other theatre employees numbered 41 under 16 and 103 over that age. "Pleasure resorts," including billiard and bowling rooms, dance halls, clubs, baths, rinks, amusement parks and other places of the kind, gave employment to 4 children under 14, 58 other juveniles under 16 and 75 over 16. Various kinds of sport furnished work for 20 persons under 18 years of age. Office employees in places of amusement numbered 59 under 18. There were 16 labourers under 16 years of age and 37 over 16 and under 18.

Of the 140 juveniles under 16 years of age working in amusement places, 48 were employed in Quebec and 49 in Ontario. The rest were scattered through the other provinces. Of the 305 over 16 and under 18, 119 were in Ontario, 68 in Quebec, 35 in Manitoba, 30 in British Columbia, 19 in Alberta, 16 in Nova Scotia, 12 in Saskatchewan, 5 in New Brunswick and 1 in Prince Edward Island.

Employment in public places of amusement is generally regarded as unsuitable for young persons, and the census figures may be an understatement of the actual numbers of juveniles employed in such places since work of this kind may be for part time only. There is, undoubtedly, a considerable number of boys and girls employed after school hours. The hours are long or are late at night and the associations are likely to be bad. Added to the ill effects of the late hours and undesirable environment may be the effect on school attendance and progress.

There is little legislation governing the employment of juveniles in places of amusement and regulation is frequently left to the municipal authorities. Part III of this publication contains a section dealing with the provincial laws on the subject.¹

UNSPECIFIED INDUSTRIES

The report of the census, 1921, shows 2,893 boys and girls under 16 and 8,146, 16 and 17 years old employed in "unspecified industries." Some workers "had to be classed as 'unspecified' because of lack of specific information. There were also instances where the enumerator entered an occupational designation without stating the industry in which the worker was employed."² Among these juveniles were 204 boys and 18 girls from 10 to 13 years old, 755 boys and 10 girls who were 14 years old, 1,548 boys and 278 girls 15 years old and 6,112 boys and 2,034 girls who were 16 or 17 years old.

¹See pp. 125-132.

²Census, 1921, vol. IV, p. ix.

Office clerks included 235 boys and 218 girls under 16 and 1,030 boys and 1,831 girls over 16 and under 18 making a total of 453 juveniles under 16 and 3,314 under 18. Messengers and office boys numbered 1,002 under 18 of whom 110 were girls. There were 84 under 14 and 699 under 16. Labourers included 135 under 14, 428 at 14 years of age, 1,050 at 15 and 4,594 over 16 and under 18. That is, the labourers under 16 numbered 1,613 and those under 18, 6,207. Other employees not included in these groups were 128 juveniles under 16 and 383 who were 16 or 17 years of age.

OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Juveniles recorded by the census enumerators as office employees included 842 boys and 766 girls 15 years old and 4,192 boys and 5,660 girls over 16 and under 18 years old making a total of 5,034 boys and 6,426 girls under 18. Clerical work requires at least an elementary school education and, perhaps, some training in a commercial school. Consequently there are no juveniles under 15 years of age in this occupation.

All industries involve a certain amount of office work and these employees are scattered through all the industrial divisions of the census. No industry was specified, however, in the case of 1,265 boys and 2,049 girls working in offices. Office work in connection with manufacturing gave employment to the largest number, 287 boys and 199 girls who were 15 years of age and 1,271 boys and 1,391 girls 16 or 17 years of age. The transportation and allied industries employed 105 boys and 32 girls at 15 and 830 boys and 1,272 girls over 16 and under 18. Mercantile establishments employed 76 boys and 180 girls 15 years old and 422 boys and 775 girls who were 16 or 17 years old.

Legislation in Ontario and Alberta governs employment in office buildings to some extent. In the latter province, a minimum age of 15 years applies to workers in offices in towns of more than 5,000 population.¹ In Ontario, no minimum age is fixed for employment in offices. Orders issued by the Minimum Wage Boards of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario establish minimum rates of wages for female office workers.

MESSENGERS AND OFFICE BOYS

According to the census report there were 6,188 juveniles, of whom 5,818 were boys, working as messengers, bundle or office boys in 1921. Table 45 shows the number employed in each age-group.

TABLE 45.—Number of Juveniles of Both Sexes Employed as Messengers, Bundle or Office Boys in Canada, 1921

Ages	Boys	Girls	Total
10-13 years.....	297	34	331
14 years.....	1,400	188	1,588
15 years.....	1,799	59	1,858
10-15 years.....	3,496	281	3,777
16-17 years.....	2,322	89	2,411
10-17 years.....	5,818	370	6,188

The number of messenger boys under 18 represents over 8 per cent of all the boys under 18 employed otherwise than in agriculture, logging, trapping and fishing or in mining and quarrying. As might be expected, the proportion of the younger boys who were acting as messengers is much greater than that of those over 16. There are comparatively few girls in this occupation. The 297 boys from 10 to 13 years of age inclusive, who were engaged in messenger work formed 23.6 per cent of all the boys of these ages employed in factories, shops, offices, or in connection with railroads or construction work. There were 1,400 boy messengers 14 years old, representing 25.6 per cent of all the boys of these ages employed in the above places. At 15 years of age, the number of messengers increases to 1,799, but

¹Edmonton, Calgary, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge.

the proportion of employed boys who were messengers declines sharply to 13.7 per cent. A further decline in the proportion who are messengers is shown by the figures for those employed in these work places at 16 and 17 years of age. Only 4.5 per cent of these boys are messengers. Children under 15, perforce, take up work requiring no training or experience. Unfortunately, it is frequently work with no real educative value except the discipline of obedience and punctuality.

Retail and wholesale stores employ the largest number of messengers and office boys of all ages. These places gave work to 120 boys from 10 to 13 years inclusive, 532 at 14 years, 707 at 15 years and 743 at 16 or 17 years of age, making a total of 1,359 under 16 and 2,102 under 18. Manufacturing establishments employed 58 under 14, 265 at 14, 373 at 15 and 427 over 16 and under 18, or 696 under 16 and 1,123 under 18. The transportation group had 17 messenger boys under 14, 158 at 14, 314 at 15 and 577 at 16 or 17 years of age, making 489 under 16 and 1,066 under 18, most of whom were telegraph messengers. Financial concerns employed 216 under 16 and 426 under 18. Messengers in "unspecified industries" included 609 under 16 and 901 under 18.

The raising of the minimum age for employment of boys in shops in Ontario from 12 to 14 in 1921 and the Adolescent School Attendance Act, which required school attendance up to 16 years of age from September 1, 1921, would both tend to reduce the number of boys employed as messengers in Ontario. Similarly, the more stringent enforcement since 1919 of the provision of the Quebec Industrial Establishments Act requiring juveniles under 16 to be able to read and write before taking up employment in any trade or business unless they are attending night school would affect the number employed as messengers under 16 years of age.

In addition to the messengers and office boys employed full time, there must be a very large number of children and older juveniles who act as messengers for retail stores and other places outside school hours. These workers are not included in the census figures and no study of employed school children in Canada appears to have been made.¹

The carrying of parcels or messages from the place of employment to various parts of a town or city is not regarded usually as street work and is free from many of the evils attached to the selling of newspapers or other articles on the streets. Only the prompt and diligent execution of errands will enable boys to retain jobs of this kind in the great majority of cases and there is not likely to be much time to loiter on the way. Messenger work involves, however, being on the streets and in other public places without supervision the greater part of the time and, therefore, partakes to some extent of the nature of street trading.² The hours may be long, as in the case of boys employed by drug stores or by a general messenger service. The uneducative nature of the occupation has been referred to. Work as a messenger may bring in a small wage and accustom the child or youth to the discipline of work for pay but the latter may be of a negative kind and the messenger is no better, if as well, prepared to take up work of a higher grade than when he left school. In some small stores, however, the messenger may become a salesman. The very large stores do not employ messengers to deliver parcels.

Apart from school attendance laws, the only legislation affecting juveniles employed as messengers is that contained in the statutes governing employment in shops and in the Child Welfare Acts of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The provisions regarding juveniles in shops are dealt with in the section on Shops³ in Part III of this publication. The Child Welfare Acts of the prairie provinces empower municipal councils to regulate by a licensing system the employment of juveniles as messengers and prohibit the granting of licences to children under 12 and the work at night of licensees under a specified age, 17 in Saskatchewan and 18 in Manitoba and Alberta. The Department of Labour has no information as to the number of by-laws passed under these statutes nor their enforcement.

STREET TRADES

Street trading in Canada is largely confined to newspaper and magazine delivery and selling. There are comparatively few juveniles who sell flowers or fruit or other articles or who accompany an adult who is disabled in some way and makes a living by selling small articles in the streets. Messengers and errand boys have to spend a large part of their time about the streets but their work usually requires prompt attention to their duties

¹See section on Employment of School Children, pp. 75-76.

²See sections on Street Trades, below and pp. 125-132.

³Pp. 121-125

and prevents loitering. They are, however, exposed to many of the evil influences of the street. The delivery of newspapers along a regular route is another form of street work which is to be distinguished from the selling of papers or other articles in the business sections of the city. The newspaper carrier delivers his papers within a more or less limited period in the residential districts and is not exposed to the same excitement or temptations as the newsboys in the busy streets. The heavy loads borne by some newspaper carriers, however, are often obviously beyond their strength.

Most of the juveniles engaged in newspaper delivery and selling are of school age and work daily before and after school hours or on certain days when the magazines they sell are issued. Such children are recorded in the census report as attending school and their gainful occupation is not reported.¹ "News agents" reported at the census included 33 from 10 to 13 years of age inclusive, 23 at 14 years, 25 at 15 years and 69 who were 16 or 17 years of age. Of these, 14 under 14, 13 at 14, 12 at 15 and 28 over 16 and under 18 were in Ontario. These figures are probably far below the number of juveniles who work at least for part of their time as newsboys. If the number of messengers and errand boys, distributors of handbills and vendors of small articles is added to the number of newsboys, the total number of juveniles in street trades will be greatly increased.

With the growth of our cities, the problem of juveniles in street trades becomes greater, the number increases and the dangers increase.

"A disproportionate number of street workers are found to have physical defects and ailments such as heart, lung, throat, stomach and foot troubles. In many instances the defect or ailment is traceable directly to the occupation, while in many more it is aggravated thereby. The long hours, the exposure to all kinds of weather, the irregular meals, often unwholesome and inadequate, the rush and excitement of the streets, all these are factors in undermining physical health and nervous stability. . . . The excitements and temptations of street life, the associates with whom boys are thrown, the disreputable places where they are sent late at night—these are some of the factors contributing to an extraordinary amount of delinquency among street workers. Short of delinquency that gets the child into court are all sorts of practices that must be deplored. Newsies early adopt the tricks of their trade—'Buy my last paper, mister!' when the pleading youngster has some more 'last papers' just around the corner. . . . Open begging is common. . . . Short-changing is another trick of the trade. These numerous tricks are taught the little fellows by the older boys or men by whom they are, in many cases, employed as helpers. Fighting and gambling among newsboys while waiting for their papers in alleys or distribution rooms, or during lulls in the day's occupation, are features of newsboy life. . . . Delinquency and child labour, especially in street occupations, are closely associated.

"The strongest argument against street work by children, and the most striking illustration of its responsibility for a large proportion of juvenile delinquency, are found in a table of this report² which arranges in order the various classes of child workers according to the percentage of delinquents they supply. The list is headed by newsboys who constitute nearly one-fourth of the entire number; following these come the errand boys; then the delivery boys; then children in markets and stores; then messenger boys. All of these, except the employees in stores, are street workers. Next come two classes of regular inside workers, but these are immediately followed by boot-blacks and peddlers. Fifty-four per cent of all these delinquent child labourers were engaged in street occupations. Thus it is clearly seen that street work is a prime agency of the promotion of juvenile delinquency, and this becomes more impressive when we reflect that the forms of street work are few while the variety of inside employment is almost without end. The report denounces street work by children because it is difficult to supervise and bring boys and girls into continual temptation to dishonesty and other offences."³

No inquiry appears to have been made into street trading by juveniles in Canada but certain cities have taken action to restrict newspaper selling by young boys.⁴ The Ontario Legislative Assembly's Committee on Child Labour in 1907 heard evidence regarding street work by children and referred in their report to the lack of regulation of this kind of employment. The comments of the committee and its recommendations, together with that of other authorities, are quoted in the section of this publication dealing with the laws governing juveniles in street trades and places of amusement.⁵

¹See section of Employment of School Children, pp. 75-76.

²U. S. Senate Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, 1910.

³Fuller, Child Labour and the Constitution, New York, 1923, pp. 79-84.

⁴A press report published in April, 1930, indicates that newsboys in the city of Toronto are to be licensed by the police department in future.

⁵See pp. 125-132.

EMPLOYMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

There is no information as to the number of school children in Canada working for wages before or after school hours or on Saturdays and other school holidays. The census enumerators do not record such children as having an occupation.

The gainful occupations most frequently followed by school children in Canada are farm work, running errands or carrying parcels from shops, the selling or delivery of newspapers and magazines, taking care of small children or some form of domestic service, work in place of amusement such as theatres, bowling-alleys and billiard-rooms and helping in the delivery of milk and bread. In cities and towns newsboys and errand boys probably make up a very large proportion of those working outside school hours.

Work outside school hours is of importance not only from the point of view of progress in school but also by reason of the possible danger to growth and health. It is likely to have some influence, too, on the nature of the full-time employment which the juvenile takes up when he has reached the statutory school-leaving age. Individual teachers may learn that the reason for a pupil's inattention or lack of progress in his work is due to the chores he does about the farm before he goes to school and after he goes home, or to his early rising in order to help the milkman, or to his working late at night running errands for a drug store or using up his energy working in a store after school and on Saturdays, or to the long hours and excitement of selling papers on the streets or working in a bowling-alley. No study of such cases in any community in Canada appears to have been made. Whether the work is good or bad for the children is a question that can be determined only after investigation. Much depends on the hours of work, lack or otherwise of time and energy for recreation, exposure to inclement weather and many other factors.

"In a five years' study of the effect of health habits upon the efficiency of school children, we have observed that work for pay after school hours is frequently associated with a decrease in general efficiency. Work of this nature complicates the child's regime—adding responsibility and increasing nervous tensions; it is an extra strain upon the body because of the increased energy it demands; and it interferes with natural health habits by causing irregular and inadequate sleep."¹

"A study of 2,000 children in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades of a Brooklyn school led Professor Nevine of Columbia University to conclude that in the case of children working outside school hours, 'School proficiency suffers markedly, absence and lateness are frequent, youth is deprived of the few hours of play during the daylight and driven to seek recreation in places of doubtful character at night, and the health of our next generation is not helped.' Three and a half hours on school days and eight on Saturdays was the average for working children in this school. A considerable number of boys, however, worked from 5 to 7 hours on school days and from 12 to 14 hours on Saturday.

"Considering 20 hours a week of employment, in addition to school attendance and a minimum of home studying, as equivalent to full-time employment, we find that many of these young school children are carrying a schedule as heavy or even heavier than that expected of an adult. This is an unintentional and seldom recognized result of the laws designed to compel school attendance and to safeguard children who are permitted to leave school altogether and go to work.

"The remedy for such conditions lies in limiting the maximum hours for school and work combined to 8 a day and 48 a week, with a universal 6-day week. Careful physical examination of children receiving permits for work outside school hours should be required and power given the proper authority to revoke the permit of any child whose health or school work suffers. Two states only—California and Illinois—so limit the work of school children at present."²

Another objection to the employment of school children is the freedom from discipline which many of the occupations, particularly street trading,³ involve. School life tends to become irksome to such children and they leave school as soon as the law permits or as soon as they can get a job.

"One of the arguments advanced against street trading by young persons by the education authorities who look upon it with disfavour is that the casual nature of the work unfits boys for other steady and progressive work. Street-traders become slack and slipshod in their methods, and, if they continue in this form of occupation for a year or so, it is extremely difficult to place them later on in satisfactory work."⁴

¹Max Seham, Assistant Professor of Pediatrics, University of Minnesota, in *The Doctor Looks at Child Labour*, New York, 1929.

²*The American child*, Nov., 1929.

³See sections on Street Trades, pp. 73-74 and 125-132.

⁴Great Britain, Home Office, Second Report of the Children's Branch, July, 1924.

A memorandum issued by the Board of Education for England and Wales in 1918, gives the results of an inquiry into the employment of children who were attending school. The inquiry was confined to an urban district in the suburbs of London and though it was "admitted that all the figures obtained are abnormal owing to war conditions," yet it was "clear from the experience of previous years that circumstances differ only in degree and not in kind."

"The evidence of head teachers and the experience gained during the inspection of these schools proves that this employment out of school hours, especially if in the morning, has a serious effect on the children. Many of them are too tired to exert their minds or to profit by their lessons and numerous cases have been observed of physical retardation concurrently with the employment, and of moral deterioration as a result of association with older and undesirable companions."

The only legislation in Canada designed to restrict the work of school children outside school hours is a section of the Manitoba Shops Regulation Act. In 1916, the Legislature of Manitoba enacted a compulsory school attendance law for children up to 14 years of age. At the same session, the Shops Regulation Act was amended to fix a minimum age of 14 years for employment in shops but children under 14 exempted from school attendance and granted a permit by the provincial Bureau of Labour, could be employed for not more than 8 hours a day or 48 a week. Boys of 13 and over attending school could be employed in shops for not more than 2 hours on school days and 8 hours on school holidays. The latter provision was extended in the following year to include premises used in connection with a messenger service as well as retail stores, thus limiting the hours of all school children working as messengers or errand boys before or after school. No other province has legislation of this sort.

The English Education Act, 1921, empowers the local education authorities to prohibit or restrict any employment of a child over 12 years of age which they are satisfied is prejudicial to his health or physical development, or which renders him unfit to obtain proper benefit from his education. Any employment of a child under 12 is prohibited by the statute and a child between 12 and 14 must not be employed on Sundays for more than 2 hours or on any school day before the close of school on that day nor on any day before 6 a.m. or after 8 p.m. The school medical officer may report on cases of employment of school children and the authorities have power to obtain information as to employment from the parent or employer. Local by-laws may permit children over 12 to be employed for not more than one hour before 9 a.m., but in such case a child may not be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon. The second report on the work of the Children's Branch of the British Home Office¹ contains the following statement on the operation of this part of the Education Act and of the by-laws made under it.

"It would appear from these reports [from local education authorities] that the evils formerly associated with the employment of children of tender years have been largely removed, and it seems reasonable to assume that little harm is likely to be caused to children employed under proper conditions if systematic arrangements are made to observe their progress and to prohibit the employment of those who are found to be suffering as a result of their employment. The system adopted at Plymouth is recommended for the consideration of other local education authorities who have not adopted a similar procedure. In the area of that Authority head teachers are required to make special reports at the end of each term on the health and education of children holding employment permits. In cases where deterioration is reported, the child concerned is brought to the notice of the school medical officer for special medical examination, and if the report is adverse, the child's employment permit is suspended.

SUMMARY

The foregoing analysis of the figures on juvenile employment from the census, 1921, indicates the inadequate nature of the information regarding juveniles in industry. The census returns show the gainful occupation, if any, followed by each person and the industry concerned as declared by householders but it is beyond the scope of a general census of the population, which is, of course, only a count, to obtain the more detailed information desirable for a study of the employment of juveniles. Only through local surveys of the conditions under which boys and girls are employed can sufficient information be obtained to determine how the work in which they are engaged affects their welfare. The

¹July, 1924.

factors to be determined would include the nature of the labour performed by juveniles, the demand it makes on their physical strength and whether or not so much energy is consumed that none remains for the growth of the adolescent worker, the hazards involved in regard to accidents or diseases peculiar to the occupation or the dangers of demoralizing associations. The opportunity the employment offers for mental training or acquiring skill in processes likely to be required under changing conditions of industry would also have to be considered, together with the mental and physical capacity of the juveniles available for such work. Such a study would necessitate an inquiry into the educational system, economic and social condition of the families in the community, physical and mental examination of employed juveniles and an investigation into local industries and their requirements. On the basis of such information, juvenile employment might be regulated to the advantage of the individual and of the community.

A survey of the census figures as set out in the tables in this publication shows the number and proportion of children from 10 to 13 years of age at work, the number and proportion of boys and girls at 14 years, 15 years and 16 and 17 years of age, the occupations followed by these juveniles, the industries employing them and the provinces in which they reside. The numerical importance of juveniles in the various occupations has also been set forth. At the censuses of 1891 and 1911, the number of children employed at ages from 10 to 14 years was recorded and at the census of 1901 the number from 10 to 15 years old. The increase or decrease in the number and proportion of employed juveniles of these ages through the intercennial periods has been shown on pages 14-24 and a summary of these changes has been given on pages 24-25. As pointed out in that summary, few general conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of the tables covering the figures for juvenile employment in the different census years. Conditions in 1921 can be more profitably surveyed.

It should be borne in mind, however, that general statements as to juvenile employment in Canada are of little value except, perhaps, in the case of children under 14 years of age. The fact that 8,821 children from 10 to 13 years inclusive were reported to be in gainful occupations in Canada in 1921 is of some significance although the number may appear relatively small, representing only 1.2 per cent of the children of these ages in Canada. Over 6,200 of the employed children from 10 to 13 years were in Ontario and Quebec. In Ontario, 1.1 per cent of the boys of these ages were reported as employed and in Quebec, 3.8 per cent. There is little doubt that the census figure is, to some extent, an under-statement of the number of children employed for full-time work and it does not include those who were working for part of the year or those who work outside school hours.¹ The employment of children of these ages is generally regarded as socially undesirable whether they were working on farms, as 6,261 of them were, or whether they were among the so-called non-academic children who make little or no progress at schools providing the ordinary courses of study.² It represents a problem affecting more than these children, for such a problem, like most special problems, is cumulative. An analysis of the census figures on illiteracy shows that the illiteracy of one generation tends to illiteracy in the next.³ Too early employment hinders growth, physical, mental and moral, and this again is reflected in the social value of the individual and that of his children.

A general statement as to the numbers employed at higher ages than 13 years is of little service, since it may be desirable that many of these juveniles should be engaged in some gainful work. Only the examination of such figures in detail to discover in what industries they are employed can reveal any worth-while information and only a knowledge of the provinces in which they are employed can enable the regulation of such employment; hence, the difficulty of summarizing in a useful way the material compiled in the foregoing pages.

The number of juveniles from 10 to 15 years of age in gainful occupations in 1921 was 73,208 of whom 58,074 were boys and 15,134 were girls. These numbers represent 10.7 per cent and 2.8 per cent of the boys and girls, respectively, of these ages in Canada in 1921. That is to say, of every 100 boys from 10 to 15 years inclusive in Canada in 1921, more than 10 were working for wages or on their parents' farms; of every 100 girls, nearly 3 were working. Further, the boys under 16 years of age in gainful occupations in Canada made up 2.2 per cent of all male persons gainfully occupied and over 3.8 per cent of the females in gainful occupations were girls under 16. Of children from 10 to 13 years of age, 2.1 per

¹See pp. 11-12.

²See Appendix, p. 135.

³Illiteracy and School Attendance in Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 124.

cent of the boys were engaged in gainful occupations and 0.3 per cent of the girls. Of those at 14 years, 18.8 per cent of the boys were employed and 4.5 per cent of the girls. Of every 100 boys 15 years old, 40.8 were working and of every 100 girls of the same age, 12.4 were working. Of the juveniles 16 and 17 years of age, 67.8 per cent of the boys were employed and 25.9 per cent of the girls.

The proportions of juveniles of these ages in gainful occupations in the different provinces range from 0.7 per cent of boys under 14 in British Columbia to 3.8 per cent in Quebec, from 6.9 per cent of the 14-year-old boys in Alberta to 28.5 per cent in Quebec, from 24.5 per cent of the 15-year-old boys in British Columbia to 49.6 per cent in Quebec. Of the employed juveniles under 16 years of age, 41.2 per cent were in Quebec and 29.6 per cent in Ontario. In these two provinces there were 60 per cent of all the persons in gainful occupations in Canada in 1921 and 70.8 per cent of the employed juveniles under 16 years of age.

Of the 58,074 boys from 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, recorded at the census as engaged in full-time work, 36,518 or 62.9 per cent were employed in agriculture. Over 80 per cent or 6,257 of the employed boys under 14 were on farms; 64.6 per cent or 10,874 of the 14-year-old boys and 57.8 per cent or 19,387 of the 15-year-old boys who were employed were engaged in agricultural work. There were 5,343 boys from 10 to 13 years of age employed on their parents' farms, of whom the largest numbers were in Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan, 3,014 in Quebec, 722 in Ontario and 650 in Saskatchewan. Of the 29,791 from 10 to 15 years inclusive who were working on their home farms, 13,841 were in Quebec, 6,014 in Ontario and 4,059 in Saskatchewan. These figures represent the boys employed at farm work for "the major portion of their time" and who were not attending school. Some factors in the problem of juvenile employment in rural districts and its effect on school attendance and the future of agriculture were pointed out in the section on Agriculture.¹

In non-agricultural industries, there were 21,556 boys and 14,995 girls from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive. These numbers represent 4 per cent of the boys and 2.8 per cent of the girls of these years in the population. The 1920 census of the United States showed 3.3 per cent of the boys 10 to 15 years of age and 2.6 per cent of the girls of these ages employed in non-agricultural industries.

The numbers of juveniles employed in 1921 in logging, fishing and trapping are comparatively small. Like mining and quarrying, these industries are, however, particularly hazardous. The boys from 10 to 13 years inclusive employed in fishing numbered 130, the 14-year-old boys, 219 and the 15-year-old boys, 306, with 1,190 over 16 and under 18 years. In logging, there were 42 under 14, 115 at 14 and 312 at 15 years of age. Most of the juveniles in logging and fishing were employed in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. Mines and quarries employed 516 boys under 16 years of age and 1,690 who were 16 or 17 years old. There were 33 boys under 14 reported as working about mines or quarries. Nova Scotia and Quebec employed two-thirds of those under 16. Since 1921, the minimum age for employment in mines in Nova Scotia has been raised to 16.

In manufacturing industries, there were more juveniles employed under 16 years of age than in any other of the non-agricultural industries. Of the 14,628 boys and girls from 10 to 15 years inclusive who were working in factories in 1921, 6,135 were in Ontario and 6,597 in Quebec. These figures represent 2.7 per cent and 4.5 per cent of the total numbers of persons, not including owners or managers, who were employed in factories in Ontario and Quebec respectively. There were 680 children from 10 to 13 years inclusive reported as working in factories, 462 in Quebec and 109 in Ontario. The Annual Reports of the Minister of Public Works and Labour of Quebec indicate a stricter enforcement of the law on child labour since the amendment of 1919.² Of juveniles over 16 and under 18 years of age, there were 34,185 in factories, 15,463 in Ontario and 13,503 in Quebec. Ontario and Quebec manufacturing establishments employed 48.2 per cent and 31.1 per cent respectively of all the factory employees in Canada, 43 per cent and 46.2 per cent of the juveniles under 16 and 45.2 per cent and 39.5 per cent of those 16 and 17 years old.

Over 13 per cent or 1,144 of the boys and 26.8 per cent or 1,571 of the girls under 16 in factory employment were in textile mills, mostly cotton. The juveniles under 18 formed 23.3 per cent of all those employed in the textile industry, excluding owners and managers. Those from 10 to 15 years old represented 8.3 per cent of the total number. If the number of owners and managers be included, the proportion would be slightly lower, 8.1 per cent. In the United States the similar proportion in 1920 was 5.9 per cent. Saw

¹See pp. 31-36

²See p. 112.

and planing mills gave work to 1,077 or 12.8 per cent of the employed boys of these ages and iron and steel industries to 935 or 11.1 per cent. Among other industries employing boys of these ages were printing, pulp and paper, boots and shoes, clothing, non-ferrous metals and rubber goods. Girls under 16 were employed principally in textiles, clothing, biscuits and confectionery, boots and shoes and book-binding. Of the girls over 16 and under 18 years, 3,076 or 21.6 per cent were in textile mills and 3,310 or 23.3 per cent in clothing factories. Others were working in the same industries as the younger girls and in tobacco factories, iron and steel mills and with non-ferrous metal products and rubber goods. A larger proportion of the older boys were in iron and steel plants and in pulp and paper mills but, on the whole, the 16 and 17-year old boys were distributed through the same industries as those under 16 years.

The particular hazards of these industries, which are in addition to the general strain of employment and which are much greater, of course, for the adolescent worker, are considered in the different sections of this publication and need be referred to here only briefly. There is no information to indicate to what extent the boys and girls employed are exposed to these hazards or to what extent such hazards exist in different manufacturing establishments. The warm, humid atmosphere in which cotton weaving is carried on and the dust thrown off in the spinning room may cause an excessive incidence of respiratory diseases, particularly of tuberculosis. Workers with non-ferrous metals, of which lead is the one most widely used and most harmful, are likely to be exposed to some extent to poisonous fumes and dusts. Among these are printers, type-founders and engravers, metal polishers and grinders, brass moulders, tool workers and those engaged in the manufacture of solder, lead wire and pipe, machine parts, plumbers' supplies, storage batteries and other products involving the use of metallic lead. The use of lead, anilin, benzol and other poisonous chemicals in the manufacture of rubber goods makes the rubber industries particularly dangerous. The effects of the nicotine and tobacco dust in factories producing tobacco and cigarettes and of the vegetable dusts in the biscuit and confectionery industry are more or less harmful. Saw-mills and other wood-working places, pulp and paper mills, the metal trades and other industries using power-driven machinery have high accident rates, and juvenile workers are more liable to accidents than adults.¹ Such legislation as workmen's compensation laws, factory laws requiring the guarding of machinery, the removal of dust and deleterious fumes and gases, cleanliness and proper ventilation are on the statute books of all the provinces except Prince Edward Island. Their enforcement promotes the physical welfare and comfort of factory workers of all ages but there is little legislation in Canada regulating particularly the employment of juveniles in occupations which involve for them peculiar hazards to life and health.²

Of the juveniles under 16 years who were employed in factories, 1,790 were classed as apprentices. The apprentices over 16 and under 18 years of age numbered 5,232. Over half the apprentices were working in printing offices or in the metal trades. The juveniles classed as labourers included 3,708 under 16 years and 7,857 who were 16 or 17 years of age. Wood-working factories employed about one-third of the juvenile labourers, with iron and steel, textile and pulp and paper mills employing relatively large numbers of young workers at jobs requiring no skill and affording little or no training. In addition to the apprentices in factory employment, the census report showed 568 apprentices under 16 and 1,959 over 16 and under 18 in construction work, other than shipbuilding. There were also 305 labourers under 16 with 1,019 over 16 and under 18 years in this industry. An additional 1,613 labourers under 16 and 4,594 who were 16 or 17 years old were recorded among "unspecified industries." Custom and repair shops were reported as employing 271 apprentices under 16 and 652 over 16 years of age. Thus, the total number of apprentices under 16 reported from the census was 2,629; those over 16 and under 18 numbered 7,843. These juveniles were, presumably, undergoing training for a skilled or semi-skilled job with relatively high wages and steadiness of employment. At the other end of the scale were 5,626 labourers from 10 to 15 years old and 13,470 16 or 17 years of age who were doing odd jobs and acting as general helpers, receiving little, if any, training and with only the life of a general labourer with comparatively low wages and irregularity of employment to look forward to. How many of the juveniles doing such work could be replaced by older or handicapped men or by machinery, it is impossible to tell without investigation.

¹See Part II on Industrial Accidents, pp. 81-91.

²See section on Health and Safety under Factories Legislation, pp. 119-121.

Mercantile businesses provided occupations for 5,937 juveniles under 16 years and 14,970 boys and girls over 16 and under 18. Children from 10 to 13 years inclusive who were working in shops for full time numbered 378.¹ Ontario and Quebec stores employed 2,339 and 2,104 juveniles under 16 respectively. In Ontario, the school law, in force since September, 1921, requiring school attendance up to 16 years of age will have reduced the number employed in shops under this age and the establishment in 1921 and 1922 of minimum rates of wages for girls in shops in Ontario has tended also to cut down the number of younger girls notwithstanding the growth in business. The number of juveniles under 16 employed in Quebec shops must be affected to some extent by the requirement that such employees must be able to read and write unless they attend night school.

Transportation and telephone and telegraph companies employed 1,650 boys and girls from 10 to 15 years and 7,603 over 16 and under 18. Telephone and telegraph services probably accounted for the largest number of these, with steam railways and local transportation providing employment for 459 boys and 392 girls under 16 and 2,426 boys and 1,414 girls over 16 and under 18 years. Juveniles in these industries form a relatively small proportion of the working force, probably due to the heavy work involved.

Domestic servants numbered 5,881 girls and 356 boys from 10 to 15 years inclusive and 11,542 girls and 601 boys over 16 and under 18. Various forms of personal service such as laundry work, messenger services, restaurants and elevator operation, and places of amusement and repair shops gave employment to juveniles. The nature of the job varied with the occupation, many of them undesirable for persons under 16 years. Girls in laundries and restaurants may stay in that work but boys as messengers and in theatres, billiard rooms, bowling alleys and such places are not likely to be learning much of value and employment in the latter places may be harmful. Messengers formed a large proportion of the employed juveniles recorded at the census, the proportion declining as the age increases. Of all the boys from 10 to 13 years employed in factories, shops or offices or about railroads or construction work, 23.6 per cent were messengers. Of the 14-year old boys employed in such work, 1,400 or 25.6 per cent were messengers, 1,799 or 13.7 per cent of the 15-year old boys and 2,322 or 4.5 per cent of those 16 or 17 years of age. In addition, there must be a large number of young boys acting as messengers or office boys after school hours and on holidays.

There is little information contained in the census report as to the number of juveniles engaged in street trading. Much of this work is carried on before or after school hours or on school holidays and the young persons concerned would be recorded by the census enumerators as attending school and having no occupation. The problem of juvenile street work cannot be gauged, therefore, from the census figures. The same statement may be made regarding other work undertaken by juveniles outside school hours. Whether it is good or bad for the children depends on many factors only to be determined by investigation. Some of these factors have been considered on pages 73-76 and 125-132.

¹See section on Employment of School Children, pp. 75-76.

PART II

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

Definite data on the relative accident liability among young persons and among adults in Canadian industries are difficult to obtain, but inquiries in other countries show that young persons are more susceptible to accidents than those of mature years.

"There is in early adolescence peculiar liability to industrial accidents, for this is the awkward stage when the finer movements and co-ordinations cannot well be accomplished. Besides this adolescent awkwardness and lack of muscular control, we must count among the causes of industrial accidents to young workers, the general irresponsibility and carelessness of childhood and youth, together with the strong impulses of play."¹

An investigator for the British Industrial Fatigue Research Board, after a study of the human factor in the causation of accidents, arrived at the following conclusion:—

"There is a tendency for the number of accidents to decrease to some extent with age, and apparently also, though to a less extent, with length of service in the factory, but when allowance is made for age there is no independent association between experience and accidents, while when allowance is made for experience, the association between accidents and age remains."²

The Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops in Great Britain shows in his reports for 1927 and 1928 that about sixteen per cent of all accidents reported in these years happened to persons under eighteen years of age. In the report³ of the same officer for 1907, the following non-fatal accident rates per 10,000 persons employed in factories are given. A "young person" was defined in the Factories Act of that date as a person between 14 and 18 years of age and a child as one between 14 and 14 working half-time.⁴

	Adults		Young Persons		Children	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1898.....	161	22	219	44	87	31
1901.....	227	38	284	58	92	31
1904.....	257	34	308	61	101	30

The report on Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States,⁵ published in 1910, stated that although children in cotton mills were generally employed in the less hazardous occupations, the accident rate in eighty-nine southern mills was 48 per cent higher for persons 14 and 15 years of age than for those 16 years and over. An investigation made into accidents occurring in a textile mill in Connecticut showed that more than 25 per cent of the total number of accidents were suffered by employees under 20 years of age, although this age-group included only 15 per cent of the total number employed.⁶

"The number of accidents per hundred employees was 37.1 for workers under fifteen years and 42.9 for those between fifteen and twenty years. For all others, however, the average was only 21.6."

A statistical study of 2,500 accidents in a textile mill in New England during the years of 1918 and 1919 revealed that the

"high mark of frequency is at eighteen years. This fact is especially valuable as showing the youth of the injured and placing the greatest emphasis on accident prevention on this type of person. Were the figures available, it might be shown that one of the

¹Industrial Accidents to Young Wage-Earners, The American Child, November, 1921.

²Report No. 34, 1926.

³Cd. 4166, 1908.

⁴The half-time system was abolished in 1920.

⁵U. S. Senate Doc. No. 645, Vol. I, 1910, pp. 383-385.

⁶The American Child, November, 1921.

reasons for this 'peak age' was the fact that of all the employees in the plants the greater number were of this age. But even if this were the case, it is still of importance to know that so young an employee is the bearer of the greater accident risk.¹

The proportionate extent of industrial accidents to juveniles in Canada cannot be determined from the statistics available. Neither the figures as to accidents by ages nor the data as to numbers employed are sufficiently complete or detailed to enable the desired comparison to be made. The chief sources of information on industrial accidents are the reports of the Workmen's Compensation Boards in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Accidents to railway employees in Prince Edward Island are dealt with by the New Brunswick Workmen's Compensation Board. The Quebec Board was appointed only in 1928, and that of Saskatchewan in 1929. Accident statistics have been published for some years by the Quebec Department of Public Works and Labour, and the Department of Mines, and by the Saskatchewan Bureau of Labour and Industries, but the ages of those injured are not shown. Of the six provincial boards whose reports are available for a period of years, only those of Nova Scotia and Alberta publish the number of all accidents by ages. The British Columbia Board publishes a table showing the number of temporary disability cases among young persons, but no information is given regarding more serious accidents. The industries covered by the Workmen's Compensation Acts may be indicated, roughly, as mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation and logging and fishing. Casual workers and out-workers in the industries covered and all persons employed in agriculture and domestic service are outside the scope of the compensation laws. Many juveniles are employed in such work and in other occupations also excluded. Among the latter are young persons employed in shops, messengers and errand boys, hotel pages, newsboys and other street traders, shoe-shiners, caddies, pin boys, boys employed as helpers in the delivery of ice, milk and bread, and ticket sellers and ushers in theatres and other places of amusement. There is little information regarding accidents to children and young persons in occupations not covered by the Workmen's Compensation Acts.

The numbers of juveniles from 10 to 17 years inclusive who are employed in the industries which might be regarded, in general, as those within the compensation laws are available from the census of 1921 but these figures can hardly be used to show the numbers exposed to industrial accidents compensable by the Workmen's Compensation Boards. The census figures relate to all those occupied in any capacity in the particular industry on June 1, 1921, and include many workers to whom the Workmen's Compensation Acts do not apply. Further, of the two provinces for which accident statistics by ages are available for 1921, it is impossible to indicate in the case of Alberta, even as roughly as in that of Nova Scotia, the proportion of juveniles employed in industries within the jurisdiction of the Workmen's Compensation Board, since persons employed in connection with the operation of railroads in Alberta are not all within the same system of compensation for accidents, and the accident figures published do not relate to accidents outside the scope of the collective liability system administered by the provincial Board. In Nova Scotia in 1921, the census figures show that 5.8 per cent of all persons occupied in mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation, logging and fishing, were between 10 and 18 years of age.

Tables 46 to 49 show the number and proportion of compensable accidents to young persons reported to the Workmen's Compensation Boards in Nova Scotia and Alberta and in Ontario and Manitoba in certain years. These figures do not include cases where medical aid was paid by the Board but the injured workmen were not compelled to stop work. The number of accidents by ages is not published in the reports of the Ontario and Manitoba Boards. The tables for these two provinces were made up from information compiled by the Boards for the Department of Labour. The figures are not strictly comparable as between the different provinces, since exactly the same industries are not covered by the provincial laws and greater hazards may be attached to the important industries of some provinces than of others. Further, workmen must be incapacitated for a minimum number of days before compensation is payable, and this period varies under the different laws from three to seven days. Thus, accidents which do not cause a workman to be off work for more than three days are not compensable in Manitoba or Alberta, while in Ontario and Nova Scotia, compensation is paid only for accidents which disable for more than seven days.

¹Gates: A Statistical Study of Accidents in the Cotton Mills, Printing Works and Worsted Mills of a Textile Company, *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, December, 1920.

TABLE 46.—Number and Proportion of Compensable Accidents to Young Persons Reported to the Workmen's Compensation Board of Nova Scotia, 1917-1927

—	All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years		Under 21 years	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1917-1927.....	55,742	2,709	4.8	6,138	11.0	8,847	15.9
1917.....	4,836	391	8.1	462	9.6	853	17.6
1918.....	4,931	358	7.3	508	10.3	866	17.6
1919.....	4,949	320	6.5	514	10.4	834	16.8
1920.....	6,143	335	5.4	703	11.4	1,038	16.9
1921.....	4,400	174	3.9	418	9.5	592	13.4
1922.....	4,488	151	3.4	486	10.8	637	14.2
1923.....	5,466	213	3.9	573	10.5	786	14.4
1924.....	4,962	181	3.6	579	11.7	760	15.3
1925.....	4,472	166	3.7	533	11.9	699	15.6
1926.....	5,546	223	4.0	688	12.4	911	16.4
1927.....	5,549	197	3.5	674	12.1	871	15.7

TABLE 47.—Number and Proportion of Compensable Accidents to Young Persons Reported to the Workmen's Compensation Board of Alberta, 1920-1928

—	All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years		Under 21 years	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1920-1928.....	78,863	1,586	2.0	4,665	5.9	6,251	7.9
1920.....	5,502 ¹	202	3.7	417	7.6	619	11.2
1921.....	8,466 ²	204	2.4	530	6.3	734	8.7
1922.....	7,518	113	1.5	418	5.6	531	7.1
1923.....	9,160	143	1.6	512	5.6	655	7.1
1924.....	7,383	121	1.6	454	6.1	575	7.8
1925.....	8,355	138	1.6	498	6.0	636	7.6
1926.....	8,930	176	2.0	509	5.7	685	7.7
1927.....	10,149	209	2.1	595	5.9	804	7.9
1928.....	13,400	280	2.1	732	5.5	1,012	7.5

¹Number of accidents disposed of during the year.²Number of accidents reported during the year, including those reported prior to 1921 and finally disposed of during the year.

TABLE 48.—Number and Proportion of Compensable Accidents to Young Persons Reported to the Workmen's Compensation Board of Ontario, 1926

All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years		Under 21 years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
29,879.....	1,250	4.2	2,727	9.1	3,977	13.3

TABLE 49.—Number and Proportion of Compensable Accidents to Young Persons Reported to the Workmen's Compensation Board of Manitoba, 1927

All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years		Under 21 years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
4,022.....	123	3.1	355	8.8	478	11.9

The Dominion Department of Labour publishes in *The Labour Gazette* the number of fatal accidents occurring to workmen in the course of their employment. The record is based on reports from the provincial Workmen's Compensation Boards, the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, the Saskatchewan Bureau of Labour and Industries, the Explosives Division of the Dominion Department of Mines and the Dominion Board of Railway Commissioners, together with press reports and reports from *Labour Gazette* correspondents resident in the

principal industrial centres throughout Canada. The ages of all the workers in this record are not shown. This information is lacking most frequently in connection with such disastrous occurrences as explosions in mines or the loss of fishing or other boats. According to this record, 28 employees under 18 years of age were killed in the course of their work in Canada in 1927. In 1928, the number of fatal accidents to workpeople under 18 was 54. Expressed in percentages of the total number of fatal industrial accidents in which the ages of the victims were known: in 1927, 3 per cent of the workmen killed in industrial accidents were under 18 years of age, and in 1928 4.1 per cent were under this age. Of employees over 18 and under 21 years of age, 61 were killed in 1927 and 80 in 1928. These numbers represent 6.5 and 6.1 per cent respectively of the fatal industrial accidents occurring in these years to workmen whose ages were reported. Combining these age-groups, the number of fatalities to workmen under 21 years of age was 89 or 9.5 per cent of the total number in 1927, and 134 or 10.5 per cent of the total in 1928. Again, the lack of information as to the relative numbers employed at these ages detracts from the value of the figures.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions regarding the trend in the number of accidents to young workers in Canada. Statistics are available over a period of years only for Nova Scotia and Alberta. Moreover, mere numbers are unsatisfactory in showing the position in one year as compared with another. The industrial processes involved, the hours of labour and the number of persons employed should also be taken into account. The number of accidents to persons under 18 years of age in Nova Scotia shows a fairly steady decrease from 1917 to 1927, with some allowance for years of industrial expansion. On the other hand, the accidents among the 18-19- and 20-year-olds has been increasing. The proportion of the accidents which befell these two groups moves in the same direction as the actual numbers—decreases, with fluctuations, for the younger group and increases among those over 18 and under 21 years of age. The raising of the minimum age for employment in the metal mines of Nova Scotia from 12 to 16 in 1927 will tend to contribute further to a reduction not only in the number of accidents but more particularly in the number of serious accidents to boys under 18 years. The minimum age for work in coal mining in this province was raised to 16 in 1923. The census report, 1921, showed 227 boys under 16 years of age employed in or about the mines of Nova Scotia. During the war the proportion of juveniles was probably higher than the normal. The enactment in 1921 of a general compulsory school attendance law applying to rural districts may also have affected the number of industrial accidents among juveniles in Nova Scotia.¹

In Alberta, the trend is not clearly indicated by the figures in Table 47. The number and proportion of accidents to workers in both groups fluctuate from year to year. The increase in the total number of industrial accidents, due largely to greater industrial activity, is reflected in the accidents to young workers. New and young employees are more liable to accidents, hence both the number and proportion of accidents to minors is likely to show an increase when employment expands. Further, the scope of the Alberta Act has been widened from time to time. In 1928, railway employees, with the exception of conductors and trainmen, were brought within it. Some of these workers had been provided for formerly under another statute. The Workmen's Compensation Board of Alberta reported 47,125 employees under the Act at December 31, 1921. At December 31, 1928, this number had increased to 71,854. What change has occurred in the proportion of young workers employed has not been ascertained.

The better reporting of accidents brought about by the workmen's compensation laws would result in an increase in the number of accidents recorded, particularly in the number of slight injuries. On the other hand, the requirements for first-aid equipment and the obligation to pay compensation in proportion to time loss has tended to bring about a reduction in the number of serious accidents by the prompt treatment of minor injuries. In any comparison between the two provinces it should be borne in mind that in 1921 over one-half the gainfully occupied persons in Alberta were engaged in agriculture. In Nova Scotia only one-quarter of the working population were on farms while there were over twice as many employed in mining and manufacturing in Nova Scotia as in Alberta. Further, as a whole the population of the western province of Alberta is younger than the population of Nova Scotia and while there were in 1921 about the same number of boys from 10 to 17 years of age, inclusive, in both provinces, the proportion of boys of these ages to the male population was higher in Nova Scotia. In Alberta 1.9 per cent of the male population were between 10 and 18; in Nova Scotia 2.2 per cent were of these ages. Among the female population, the proportion of girls between 10 and 18 years of age was slightly higher in Alberta.

¹ Sep. 98

There is no adequate information in regard to the industries having the highest accident rates among young persons in Canada. The following table compiled from the Dominion Department of Labour's record of fatal industrial accidents for the years 1919 to 1928 shows the industries in which the recorded accidents to minors occurred:—

TABLE 50.—Number and Percentage Distribution of Fatal Industrial Accidents in Canada by Industries, 1919–1928

	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
All Industries	258	100	507	100
Agriculture.....	45	17.4	34	6.7
Logging, saw and planing mills.....	52	20.2	116	22.9
Fishing and trapping.....	4	1.5	10	2.0
Mining.....	21	8.1	64	12.6
Manufacturing.....	50	19.4	59	11.6
Construction.....	12	4.6	59	11.6
Transportation and public utilities.....	40	15.5	116	22.9
Trade.....	7	2.7	9	1.8
Service.....	13	5.0	24	4.7
Unclassified.....	14	5.4	16	3.2

The lumbering industry, including in this classification logging and saw and planing mills, accounts for the highest number of fatal accidents to juveniles under 18 years of age, as well as of those to persons over 18 and under 21. In the transportation and public utilities group, however, the same number of accidents occurred among the 18- to 21-year-old workers as in the lumber industries. The hazardous nature of the industry appears to be the principal factor in giving the lumber industry first place in the number of fatal industrial accidents. In 1921, there were about 5,700 employees under 18 years of age in the logging industry and among the unskilled saw and planing mill employees reported at the census. Since sawyers and other skilled workers are not reported for saw and planing mills alone, it is not possible to give the total number employed in these mills and in logging. On the other hand, the relatively large number of fatal accidents to agricultural workers under 18 is due largely, no doubt, to the comparatively numerous agricultural workers of these ages. The census shows 93,246 persons under 18 employed on farms in 1921. The manufacturing industry is responsible for the second highest number of fatal accidents occurring to those under 18. The number of fatal accidents to other minors employed in factories is relatively high, but falls below that in mining and is equalled by the number of fatalities in this age-group in construction work. According to the returns at the census, 1921, a larger proportion of persons under 16 years of age is employed in manufacturing than in any other of these industrial groups except agriculture. Above this age, there is a wider distribution of young workers among the other industries. It will be shown later that fatal accidents form a smaller proportion of the total number of accidents to minors than do accidents causing some permanent disability.

The Nova Scotia Workmen's Compensation Board has furnished the Department of Labour with figures showing the number of industrial accidents in each of the classes into which the industries covered by the compensation law are divided for purposes of assessment under the collective liability system of workmen's compensation. Table 51 gives an analysis of the number of accidents to young persons in certain industries in Nova Scotia in 1926 and 1927. The proportion of injured workers who were under 18 and the proportion of those who were over 18 are shown on a percentage basis.

TABLE 51.—Number and Proportion of Accidents in Certain Industries in Nova Scotia by Ages, 1926 and 1927

	1926						1927					
	All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years			All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years		
		No.	%	No.	%			No.	%	No.	%	
All Classes.....	5,546	223	4.0	688	12.2		5,549	197	3.5	674	12.1	
Class 1.—Mining.....	2,588	83	3.2	312	12.1		2,684	50	1.9	290	10.8	
Class 3.—Lumbering and woodworking.....	1,223	64	5.2	215	17.6		1,529	77	5.0	231	15.1	
Class 5.—Iron and steel.....	485	13	2.7	40	8.2		832	14	1.7	38	4.6	
Class 6.—General manufactur- ing.....	375	45	12.0	64	17.2		469	28	6.0	52	11.1	

A table showing the number and proportion of accidents in British Columbia in certain industries, by ages, has been prepared from the Reports of the Workmen's Compensation Board but the information is confined to accidents resulting in temporary total disability only. No figures are available for more serious accidents.

TABLE 52.—Number and Proportion of Accidents in Certain Industries in British Columbia, by Ages, 1927 and 1928

(Temporary total disability cases only)

	1927						1928					
	All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years			All ages	Under 18 years		18, 19, 20 years		
		No.	%	No.	%			No.	%	No.	%	
All Classes.....	15,906	464	2.9	1,179	7.4		16,672	474	2.8	1,284	7.7	
Class 1.—Lumbering and woodworking.....	6,754	155	2.3	532	7.9		7,032	171	2.3	590	8.4	
Class 3.—Coal mining.....	1,113	26	2.3	63	5.7		1,228	36	2.9	65	5.3	
Class 5.—Iron and steel, weld- ing service stations, manu- facture of cans.....	503	39	7.7	78	15.5		511	57	11.1	65	12.7	
Class 6.—General manufactur- ing.....	952	117	12.3	120	12.6		1,068	88	8.2	160	15.0	
Class 7.—Construction.....	1,491	48	3.2	106	7.1		1,558	42	2.7	116	7.4	

The accidents in the four classes in the table for Nova Scotia represent over 90 per cent of the accidents in each group in 1926 and in the 18 to 20-year-old group in 1927 and over 85 per cent of the accidents to persons under 18 years in 1927. The classes in the British Columbia table cover over 80 per cent of all the industrial accidents to persons under 18 and over 76 per cent of the accidents to other minors.

In both Nova Scotia and British Columbia in 1927, "general manufacturing" was responsible for the greatest number of accidents to persons under 18 years of age as compared with the number of workmen of all ages in the industrial group. This was also the case in Nova Scotia in 1926 but in British Columbia in 1928, employment in Class 5 industries caused more accidents to persons under 18 as compared with older workers than in the other industries. A large proportion of accidents occurred to workers over 18 but under 21 years of age in the "general manufacturing" industries in both provinces but in the lumber and wood-working industries in Nova Scotia and the metal trades in Class 5 in British Columbia, these workers suffered a still higher proportion of the accidents in these industrial groups. The manufacturing industries in Class 6 in both provinces include factories using power-driven machinery in the production of flour and other foods, liquors, cigars, glass, paint, rope and twine, rubber and leather goods, furs, textiles, clothing and wood products, as well as the operation of elevators, printing offices, canneries, laundries, dyeing and cleaning establishments, meat-packing plants and butcher shops.

Lumbering and woodworking accounted for the largest number of accidents to workers under 18 in British Columbia and also the largest number to persons 18, 19 and 20 years of age. Over one-third of all the accidents to workers less than 18 years of age in British Columbia in 1927 and 1928 occurred in the lumber industries. In Nova Scotia in 1926 over 28 per cent of such accidents happened in lumbering and woodworking and with the drop in the number of mining accidents among young persons in 1927, the proportion of the accidents to workmen under 18 occurring in the lumber industries rose to 39 per cent.

Of the accidents to workers under 18 in Nova Scotia in 1926, over 37 per cent were to persons employed in or about mines. This percentage dropped in 1927 to 25. Over 40 per cent of the accidents to workmen 18, 19 and 20 years of age in Nova Scotia in both 1926 and 1927 were to mine employees.

No comparison between the accident rates among young persons in different industries is possible since definite information is lacking as to the numbers employed in each class of industry. For the same reason a satisfactory comparison cannot be made of the accident rate among youthful workers with the accident rate among adults in the same industry. The high proportion of accidents to minors in the general manufacturing industries is due to some extent to the employment in these industries of a comparatively large number of young workers. Such establishments as canneries, laundries, and factories producing textiles, clothing, boots and shoes and biscuits and confectionery employed a relatively large number of young people.¹ Neither are the Nova Scotia and British Columbia figures in the above tables comparable except in so far as they indicate in what classes of industry in each province accidents to young persons form a large or small proportion of the total number of accidents. Since the British Columbia figures cover only accidents causing temporary total disability, no definite conclusions can be drawn even on this point. Accidents of a more serious nature are more frequent in lumbering and woodworking and in mining.

The immediate causes of accidents are not published in the provincial workmen's compensation reports with reference to the ages of the injured workers but, bearing in mind the occupations in which the largest proportion of juveniles are to be found and reviewing the tables published by the Workmen's Compensation Boards indicating the causes of all compensable accidents, one is fairly safe in concluding that youthful workers in Canada are injured most frequently by machinery. The hazardous nature of the mining industry is generally agreed upon and in considering the causes of industrial accidents to juveniles, this industry is disregarded.

A study² of the industrial accidents to juveniles in Massachusetts revealed that the chief cause lay in their inability to control perfectly the machinery or tools with which they worked:—

"The awkwardness of children of the adolescent age, particularly of the boys, proves that they have not learned to direct perfectly the activities of their own bodies, so their inability to control fully any additional force is not surprising."

Added to this peculiar liability of young persons to accidents, are the more general causes of accidents in industry which are frequently more potent in the case of young workers. Among these general causes are fatigue, speed of production and the psychical state of the workers, inexperience, lighting, ventilation and temperature and, finally, such special conditions as surround the individual worker at his task including the use of machinery or harmful substances, heavy work, etc.³

A report⁴ on accidents to minors employed in the manufacturing industries in Wisconsin, Massachusetts and New Jersey points out the causative factors in the disablement of young workers:—

"Machinery—the most frequent cause of injury—was responsible for over one-third (36.2 per cent) of the injuries. In Massachusetts and Wisconsin, (the two States where comparable statistics were available) it caused twice as high a percentage of the accidents to minors as of the accidents to workers twenty-one years of age and over, notwithstanding the fact that the employments forbidden to young boys and girls are chiefly the operation of dangerous machines....."

¹See pp. 43, 57-58.

²Eaves, One Thousand Industrial Accidents Suffered by Massachusetts Children. The American Child, November, 1920.

³Vernon, Industrial Fatigue and Efficiency, London, 1921.

⁴U. S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 152, 1926.

"The types of power-driven machines on which most of the injuries occurred were in each state those used in its chief industries. In Wisconsin, metal-working, wood-working and paper and paper-products making, in Massachusetts, textile, metal-working and leather-working and in New Jersey metal working, rubber and composition-working and textile machines were the most frequent cause of the machine injuries

"Handling objects was the second most frequent cause of injury in all three of the states covered by the study. The most serious results of handling heavy objects are strains, the number of which could be reduced by prohibiting young workers from doing work which involves heavy lifting Another class of objects handled—namely, sharp or rough objects—was the cause of many injuries. Probably many of these injuries were slight in themselves, but infection developed in a large proportion of them. In New Jersey, for example, infection developed in one-half of the compensable injuries caused by handling rough or sharp objects.

"Infection is an important factor in increasing the disability resulting from slight injuries. In Wisconsin infection occurred in 10 per cent of the injuries to minors from all causes (being responsible for permanent partial disability in 10 cases); in Massachusetts it was present in 16.6 per cent of all the cases, and in New Jersey in 8.3 per cent of them. It is still necessary to lay stress upon the desirability of maintaining first-aid stations, and of educating the workers in regard to the importance of prompt treatment for even slight injuries. The need of such education for the protection especially of the younger workers is to be seen in the fact that in Massachusetts the percentage of the injuries to minors followed by infections was twice as high as the corresponding percentage of the injuries to all workers."

In connection with machine accidents, it is pointed out in this report that:—

"In each of the three states the great majority of the power-machine accidents to minors occurred during the operation (including starting and stopping) of the machine, not while the machine was being adjusted, cleaned, or oiled. Furthermore, most of the injuries took place at the working point of the machine. Apparently the mechanical safeguards to prevent operators from being caught in gears, fly-wheels, set screws, and belts, together with the laws forbidding children to clean or oil machinery in motion, have been effective in reducing to a comparatively small proportion the injuries due to these causes."

All the Canadian factory laws restrict to some extent the cleaning of moving machinery. In Alberta no person whatever may be permitted to clean machinery in motion. In Quebec regulations require that the cleaning of machinery must be authorized by the foreman. The laws of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba prohibit any girl under 18 years of age cleaning machinery while it is in motion. In Ontario no person under 16 and no girl or woman may clean such machinery as mill-gearing while it is in motion. In the four western provinces and in Nova Scotia, such work is forbidden to girls or women and in New Brunswick to any employee. No analysis of machine accidents to young workers in Canada appears to have been made.

The comparative seriousness of the accidents to young workers can be gauged from published figures in Nova Scotia and Alberta. The number of fatal accidents and those resulting in permanent and temporary disability are given separately in the Reports of the Workmen's Compensation Boards in these provinces. Table 53 shows the number and proportion of fatal accidents and permanent disabilities suffered by workmen in certain age-groups in Nova Scotia during the years 1917 to 1927 and in Alberta from 1920 to 1928, inclusive:—

TABLE 53.—Number and Proportion of Fatal and Permanent Disability Accidents in Nova Scotia, 1917-27, and Alberta, 1920-28, by ages.

Age	Nova Scotia, 1917-27						Alberta, 1920-28					
	Total Number of accidents	Fatal		Permanent disability			Total Number of accidents	Fatal		Permanent disability		
		No.	%	No.	%			No.	%	No.	%	
Under 18 years.....	2,709	37	1.4	158	5.8		1,586	6	0.4	29	1.8	
18, 19, 20 years.....	6,138	84	1.4	318	5.2		4,665	11	0.2	42	0.9	
Over 21 years.....	46,895	886	1.9	2,438	5.2		72,612	583	0.8	775	1.1	

The Boards of Ontario and Manitoba have furnished information for the years 1926 and 1927 respectively:—

TABLE 54.—Number and Proportion of Fatal and Permanent Disability Accidents in Ontario, 1926, and Manitoba, 1927, by Ages

Age	Ontario, 1926					Manitoba, 1927				
	Total Number of Accidents	Fatal		Permanent Disability		Total Number of Accidents	Fatal		Permanent Disability	
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
Under 18 years.....	1,250	2	0.2	89	7.1	123	0	0.0	0	0.0
18, 19, 20 years.....	2,727	18	0.7	158	5.8	355	3	0.8	8	2.2
Over 21 years.....	25,902	288	1.1	2,174	8.4	3,544	34	1.0	50	1.4

In these four provinces the proportion of accidents causing death of workmen is seen to be higher for the older workers. The fatal accident rate appears to increase, then, with years, and this inference is borne out by investigators who attribute the higher death rate, in part at least, to the lessened recuperative power of the older workers.¹ The larger proportion of permanent disabilities suffered by persons under 18 as compared with adults and even with other minors in Nova Scotia and Alberta where statistics cover a period of years, would seem to indicate that the chief factor in these accidents was the youth of the workers. This tendency is indicated also by the Ontario and Manitoba figures, but as they cover accidents for one year only, no definite conclusion can be drawn from them. When it is remembered, however, that the incidence of machine accidents in proportion to exposure is much higher among juveniles than adults, the relatively large number of permanent injuries to young workers may be accounted for.

Concerning the effects of permanent disabilities on the young worker, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour comments in its publication on accidents to minors in Wisconsin, Massachusetts and New York as follows:—

"The handicap placed by these accidents on young workers was disclosed by personal interviews with minors who suffered permanent partial disablement before they were 18 years of age. Although some have been able to follow the same occupation or a more promising one, in the three to six years that have elapsed, others have been forced by their injuries out of chosen occupations into work with small industrial opportunities, and some have been unable to find any kind of employment. Many of these young people, now in their early twenties, are sensitive over their deformities, discouraged by their prolonged economic dependence upon their families, and hopeless over the future."¹

Owing to the very inadequate nature of the information concerning accidents to young workers in Canada, no definite conclusions can be arrived at. Occupation statistics show, however, that a larger number of young persons is employed in manufacturing establishments where mechanical power is used than in other non-agricultural industries and that young persons form a larger proportion of the total number of workers employed in factories than in other workplaces. Further, studies in other countries show that juveniles are more liable to accidents than adults and that, if employed about machinery, they are more likely to be permanently disabled. The figures for Nova Scotia and Alberta appear to confirm the truth of these statements as far as these provinces are concerned.

The hazards of the mining industry have been recognized by fixing the minimum age for employment in mines in most provinces above the minimum age for other industrial employment. The minimum ages established by the provincial laws for employment in mines and factories are set out in Tables B and D on pages 102 and 105 respectively. A historical survey of the legislation governing juvenile employment in these work-places accompanies these tables. The age standard in both factories and mines has been raised from time to time with the growth of industry. On the other hand, legislation to provide particularly for the safety and health of the juveniles admitted to employment in Canada has not advanced beyond the provisions of the English factory legislation of the eighties. The authority given to the Lieutenant-Governors in Council to regulate dangerous or unwholesome trades

¹Great Britain. Industrial Fatigue Research Board, Report No. 34, p. 37.

²Publication No. 152, 1926.

has not been exercised except in Quebec.¹ A provision in most of the Workmen's Compensation Acts, however, takes cognizance of the difference between a permanent disability suffered by a young worker at low wages and an adult at full wages for his class of employment. In Nova Scotia, Ontario and Saskatchewan, the case of a minor may be reviewed six months after the accident and compensation based on the probable earnings at that date. In New Brunswick, Alberta, and British Columbia, the Board is authorized to take the age into consideration in awarding compensation to a minor. In Manitoba, compensation to a person under 21 may be the same as to one of that age in the same class of work.

¹See pp. 119-120

PART III

LEGISLATION

INTRODUCTORY

The distinction in labour law between the employment of children or juveniles and of adults is based, obviously, on the physical and mental immaturity of youth. Concern first for the individual, then for the family and the state gave rise to a demand for such legislation which, in general, has been designed with a view to preventing injury to the health and growth of boys and girls and to afford them an opportunity for elementary education and general development sufficient for the demands of citizenship and economic life. That legislation falls short of attaining this ideal is to be expected since the enactment of laws is dependent on a body of opinion strong enough to prevail over any counter-currents of opinion which may arise from opposing interests. Accordingly, laws are made up of compromises and "the bit by bit or gradual system of law-making dear to Parliament"¹ brings about the passage of laws rarely reflecting the most advanced thought of the time but supported by a sufficient body of opinion to ensure their acceptance by Parliament and their more or less effectual enforcement.

The history of child labour legislation in England exemplifies this general rule. The distressing condition of the pauper apprentices in the cotton mills aroused public opinion so that Parliament enacted the first factory law in 1802. With the growth of industry and the factory system, the humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century brought about a gradual widening of the field of Parliamentary intervention in the interest of the workers. The minimum age at which children could be employed was gradually raised and the prohibition of employment under specified ages extended step by step from textile mills to all factories as well as to mines, shops, street work, dangerous trades and night work. Beginning at a later date but running parallel with the movement to raise the ages under which children could not be employed in certain occupations and to keep such children at school, was the development of stricter regulation of the work of young persons in these occupations. The distinction between children and young persons in industry was first drawn in the English Factory Act of 1833 when hours for young persons over 13 and under 18 were limited but not to the same extent as the working hours for children under 13. From 1844 on, there were provisions in the Factory Acts for the safety of young workers and in 1867 a system of general medical inspection of all children and young persons under 16 at the commencement of their employment, and on every occasion on which they changed their employment, was established in all factories and extended to certain workshops, as distinguished from factories, in 1906. A committee appointed by the Home Office, reporting in 1924, recommended that the medical examination and certification of young persons should be required in all factories and workshops, that the age should be raised from 16 to 18 years and that other measures should be taken to make the system more effective. These recommendations were incorporated in Bills to consolidate the Factories and Workshops Acts, drawn up in 1924 and 1926, but have not been enacted. The Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops of Great Britain for 1928 shows that out of 334,059 juveniles between 14 and 16 years of age who were examined for certificates of fitness for industrial employment in that year, 5,040 were rejected as unfit and 9,479 were given certificates with certain conditions attached.

Legislation regarding juvenile labour in Britain, then, has developed along two lines, the limitation of the number of children and young persons who may be employed and the regulation of the conditions under which those legally employed may work. The number who may be employed is limited by the establishment of minimum standards as to age, educational attainments and physical fitness, and the restriction, in certain trades, of the proportion of juveniles employed in relation to the number of adults. The imposition of conditions on the employment of juveniles is designed (1) to protect health and growth by limiting daily and weekly hours of labour, limiting periods of work and requiring time for

¹Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd edition, London, 1914, p. 30.

meals, providing for a weekly holiday, and regulating particularly dangerous trades; (2) to safeguard moral character by licensing street traders and those employed in places of amusement and (3) to enable the continuation of education by requiring attendance at part-time classes. The following quotation relates to the history of factory legislation in Britain but it is applicable, also, to juvenile labour legislation in that country.

"The progress of legislation tends continually in the direction of a more complete comprehension of the industries and persons affected, greater definiteness and particularity in the specific regulations laid down, increased co-ordination of parts in the organization of administration.... The regulation of hours, from being lax and indefinite, has become more and more stringent and particular, and the provisions for health and safety, which started with a mere injunction of elementary cleanliness, have developed into a precise code of special means of prevention of the dangers and insanitary conditions incidental to certain industrial employments. The administrative organ, from being selected merely by the accident of worldly position and local proximity, with neither guarantee of fitness nor remuneration for the work, has gradually evolved into a body of professional experts, qualified and graded for this special duty."¹

Laws regulating juvenile employment in Canada are almost all enactments of the provincial legislatures, only a few statutes of the Dominion Parliament directly affecting the employment of juveniles. This arises from the division of legislative authority between the Dominion and the provinces laid down by the British North America Act, by which the Dominion Parliament was given power to enact laws regarding, *inter alia*, the regulation of trade and commerce, census and statistics, navigation and shipping, naturalization and aliens, and generally, for the peace, order and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces. In addition, the Dominion Parliament was given jurisdiction over criminal matters. To the provinces was granted authority to legislate on certain classes of subjects, among which are matters affecting education, property and civil rights, municipal institutions, local works and undertakings other than such as are of an interprovincial nature and, generally, all matters of a merely local and private nature. It follows, then, that laws making provision for education, laws governing mines, factories, shops and employment generally and laws conferring power on municipalities to regulate certain matters are enacted by the provincial legislatures, but laws regulating employment in undertakings carried on in connection with interprovincial transportation and communication services and Dominion public works are enacted by the Dominion Parliament as well as criminal law. In connection with certain subjects which are within provincial jurisdiction, such as technical education and public employment offices, the Dominion Parliament has enacted laws providing for financial assistance to the provinces and for the publication of information.

Early Canadian labour legislation, like other branches of law, naturally followed that of England. Statutes governing employment in mines, factories and shops were modelled on the contemporary law of England and adopted in one province after another with some modifications. The provisions relating to juveniles in these laws have been changed but little since their original enactment but the minimum age has been raised from that established in each class of employment by the earliest provincial laws.

The physical examination of juveniles to determine fitness for employment, which is necessary in Britain and in most of the American States, has not been required under any Canadian law. The Quebec Industrial Establishments Act and the Nova Scotia Education Act both provide for a medical examination of juveniles in certain cases but in neither province is the law on this point enforced.² Certificates as to age, education and physical fitness, issued by special officers appointed for the purpose, have not been required of juveniles entering employment in Canada. In some provinces, educational certificates are necessary before exemption from school attendance may be granted and certificates as to age must be submitted in some provinces before employment but in none of the Canadian provinces are certificates, other than age certificates, required of juveniles above the school-leaving age and the minimum age for employment. Such certificates as are necessary under Canadian laws are required with a view to ensuring that no child of school age or below the minimum age for employment shall be permitted to work. No province has adopted a certificate system by which special officers are kept in touch with juvenile workers as they shift from job to job, and by which a check is kept on their physical condition and some

¹Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, London, 1903, p. 251.

²See pp. 120-121.

influence exercised in regard to the kind of employment they take up. Such a system¹ is in operation in several of the United States and was considered in 1926 in Britain by the Committee on Education and Industry appointed by the President of the Board of Education and the Minister of Labour. A modified system applying to juveniles 14 and 15 years of age was recommended in their report. Juveniles over 16 and under 18 in Britain come within the Unemployment Insurance Act and are thus brought into close contact with the employment exchanges and the system of juvenile advisory committees. In periods of unemployment they are required to attend courses of instruction where such are available.

DOMINION LEGISLATION

Amendments of 1924 to the Canada Shipping Act gave effect to the conventions of the International Labour Conference of 1920 and 1921 regarding the employment of children and young persons at sea. These provisions do not apply to ships employed exclusively within the limits of the inland waters of Canada. No child under 14 years of age may be employed on vessels other than vessels on which only members of the same family are employed. No boys under 18 years of age may be employed as trimmers or stokers except on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam. Neither of these restrictions applies to work done by children or young persons on training-ships provided such work is approved and supervised by public authority. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port where young persons of less than 18 years only are available, two boys who are over 16 and under 18 may be engaged instead of one over 18 years. Medical examinations of juveniles under 18 are compulsory before they may be employed on vessels other than those on which only the members of one family are employed and such examinations must be repeated at intervals of not more than a year and certificates as to fitness for the work must be produced.

The criminal law contains a section providing a penalty of two years' imprisonment for the seduction of a girl under 21 years by any person by whom she is employed or under whose control or direction her employment or work may be carried on or from whom, directly or indirectly, she receives her wages. Other sections of the criminal code enacted in the sixties from English criminal law are designed to protect the health and welfare of apprentices and servants.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION

Laws have been enacted by the legislatures of the nine provinces and by the Council of the Yukon for the regulation of juvenile employment in various kinds of workplaces situated within their respective borders. The same industries are not found in all the provinces and industrial development varies from one to another with the economic history of the province. Statutes to regulate employment were accordingly enacted at different times and vary in their application.

Agriculture employs the largest number of persons and was the earliest industry to be developed in Canada but agricultural work is unlike other occupations in many respects and has not been made the subject of any special labour legislation in Canada. School attendance laws and the gradually increasing provision for courses in agricultural instruction restrict the number of juveniles on farms and afford certain facilities for training farm workers. The mining industry was developed at a comparatively early date and laws for the regulation and inspection of mines were the first to establish minimum ages for employment and limit working hours for juveniles. Factory legislation followed in the provinces where the manufacturing industries had begun to employ considerable numbers. Laws governing employment in shops were also enacted in some provinces and the work of juveniles in street trades, places of amusement and other places has been dealt with in some manner by most of the provincial legislatures.

The provisions of all these laws, together with those on apprenticeship and school attendance, are outlined in the following pages. Tables show in brief form the law in force at the present time in regard to minimum ages and maximum hours for juveniles. These are followed by tables indicating the chronological development of this legislation in each of the provinces. The information in the tables is supplemented by a short history of the

¹ The Employment-Certificate System, a Safeguard for the Working Child. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 56, 1921.

provincial laws, noting the provisions for health and safety as well as those fixing ages and hours. The material is arranged in sections according to the subject dealt with in each class of legislation.

The enactment of statutes is of little avail if they are not properly enforced and a study of juvenile employment laws can hardly be adequate without inquiry into the effectiveness of their enforcement. In this case, no attempt has been made to inquire into the enforcement of the provincial laws. Where public comment by some local authority is available, however, it has been quoted.

APPRENTICESHIP AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The earliest legislation having to do with juvenile employment in what is now the Dominion of Canada, was copied from the English law of apprenticeship and was designed rather to promote the employment of children than to place any limitation on it. Modern labour legislation is concerned with prohibiting child labour and permitting the employment of young persons only under special restrictions.

The compulsory employment imposed by the Statute of Labourers in the reign of Edward III (1360) made no specific reference to children but it is evident from later enactments that children were included in its scope. The transition from feudalism to personal freedom was marked by pauperism and vagabondage and it was to do away with these conditions that the Statute of Labourers required that all men and women under 60 years of age, not craftsmen, landholders, tradesmen or regularly employed should "serve him which so shall require." The apprenticing of children was already a common practice of the craft guilds in the reign of Henry IV but we find in one of Henry's laws the provision that "every man or woman of what estate or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any manner of school that pleaseth them within the Realm" (1405). A law of Henry VIII gave local authorities power to take into custody all between the ages of five and thirteen years who were found begging or in idleness and to apprentice them to a master. In Elizabeth's reign, the Statute of Apprentices (1563) was designed "to banish idleness and advance husbandry" and children were to begin work at twelve years unless they were gentlemen born or of well-to-do parents and regulations were laid down governing the seven years' period of apprenticeship. In the same reign an Act for the Relief of the Poor (1601) consolidated the old Poor Laws and provided for the "setting to work the children of all such whose parent shall not be thought able to keep and maintain their children," the boys to be bound as apprentices until the age of 24, (reduced to 21 in 1777) and the girls until 21 or until marriage. But with the development of the factory system in the latter part of the eighteenth century, large numbers of unskilled workmen were able to find employment and in 1814 the Act of 1563 requiring seven years' apprenticeship before engaging in any craft was repealed and the system of legal apprenticeship brought to an end. Apprentices in decreasing numbers continued to be bound under indenture and the laws providing for the binding of poor children continued in force with amendments from time to time. It was the condition of the pauper apprentices in the cotton factories of the north of England that led to the first demand for a factory law.

Legal apprenticeship was in force, however, when the provinces of Nova Scotia and Upper and Lower Canada obtained the right to their own legislatures and was, therefore, nominally in force in these three provinces, but the requiring of seven years' apprenticeship was impractical in a new country. In 1769 (c. 43) Nova Scotia, which included at that time the present province of New Brunswick, enacted a law regarding apprentices and in 1786 (c. 37), after the separation of the two provinces, New Brunswick passed a statute of her own. Prince Edward Island followed in 1827 (c. 1) and the Province of Canada for Upper Canada in 1851 (c. 11). When the British Columbia statutes were revised in 1897, the Imperial statutes in force in British Columbia as well as Acts of the provincial legislature were consolidated. The Imperial Act regarding apprentices was accordingly reproduced in this volume (c. 8). In 1877 (c. 26), and 1878 (c. 7) Manitoba enacted similar laws. An Ordinance of the Northwest Territories in 1893 (No. 6) empowered guardians to bind poor children as apprentices, but this enactment has not been reproduced in the Revised Statutes of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Consolidated Ordinances of the Yukon Territory, 1888, (c. 53) gave similar powers.

In Prince Edward Island, the law provided that a child of any age might be bound by his parents or guardian until 21 years of age or less. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick children over 14 were permitted to be apprenticed by their parents, but only with their own

consent and for a period not later than the age of 21 years for boys or 18 for girls, or till marriage in the case of girls. A father, or mother if the father were dead or incompetent, could bind children under 14 years of age until they reached that age. In Ontario, British Columbia and Manitoba, parents could bind boys over 12 and girls over 14 if the children agreed, the period of apprenticeship not to exceed the same ages stipulated in the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick statutes, but in Manitoba marriage of the minor terminated the contract. In these three provinces, a mother alone could bind children if the father had deserted them but only with the approval of two justices of the peace.

Guardians were given powers similar to those of parents in the binding of children in Ontario, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Children without parents or guardians were allowed to bind themselves in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with the approval of two justices. In Ontario, British Columbia, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island only such children who were over 16 years of age could bind themselves. Contracts thus entered into were binding as if the minor were of legal age.

Orphan or pauper children could be bound by specified civic or judicial authorities in all these provinces. By other enactments of the various legislatures, including that of Quebec, certain charitable institutions were authorized to apprentice immigrant or delinquent children or others committed to their care. In Quebec, the old English civil law was of no effect and the only provisions in the law of this province with regard to apprenticeship are in the statutes enabling the apprenticeship of immigrant and delinquent children.

All these statutes set forth the manner in which indentures of apprenticeship are to be executed, the duties of masters towards apprentices and of apprentices towards masters, the provisions for redress of grievances in case of neglect of these duties, and for the transfer of apprentices from one master to another or in case of death of the master. In the Maritime Provinces, the law provides that the apprentice must be instructed in reading, writing and the simple rules of arithmetic. Section 243 of the Criminal Code of Canada makes it an offence not to provide food, clothing or lodging for a servant or an apprentice under 16 years of age in accordance with the contract entered into, and any master neglecting such duty is liable to three years' imprisonment if the health of such apprentice is likely to be permanently injured.

Adopted in England before the evolution of the factory system, providing an all-round technical training but involving a close personal relationship between a master who was a skilled craftsman and the apprentice to whom the former stood in *loco parentis*, the apprenticeship system as governed by these statutes is practically obsolete, at the present time agreements between employers and young persons learning trades being governed for the most part by the ordinary rules of law applicable to labour contracts. But under the provisions of those statutes relating to the binding of poor or orphan children, charitable organizations in certain of the provinces still bind as apprentices children in their care.

Manitoba repealed the Apprentices and Minors' Act in 1922 (c. 2) and Ontario took the same action in 1927 (c. 28, s. 10). Nova Scotia (R.S. 1923, c. 137), Prince Edward Island (1845, c. 14), New Brunswick (R.S. 1927, c. 82) and British Columbia (R.S. 1924, c. 112) have retained these laws in their statute books.

An interesting attempt to provide for skilled workers by means more in line with modern industrial conditions is being made under the authority of the Ontario Apprenticeship Act, 1928 (c. 25). The scheme is based on the co-operation of employers in designated trades for the training of minors sixteen years or over under provincial regulation and with provincial inspection. The plan applied in the first instance to certain of the building trades but other trades may take advantage of it, if at least twenty-five employers in the trade petition the Minister of Labour to that effect and he so advises the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.¹

"Owing to the highly organized manner in which many industries are now conducted and the specialization of the workers upon particular parts of the factory processes, experience of workshops alone is not a sufficient teacher for industrial efficiency."²

So supplementing what survives of training through apprenticeship and relating also to many trades in which there is no formal apprenticeship, instruction in technical schools has been extended rapidly in Canada within the last decade under the provision made for such

¹For provisions of Act and number of apprentices registered under it, see p. 65.

²Report of Royal Commission on Technical Education, 1913, p. 272.

instruction by the various provinces, aided by the grants from the Dominion under the terms of the Technical Education Act, 1919. In the school year, 1928-29, there were 45,617 pupils enrolled in day classes conducted in technical schools and 73,877 in evening classes. These figures may be compared with similar figures for the year, 1920-21, when there were enrolled in technical education classes 11,683 students in day classes and 44,441 in evening classes.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Table A shows the age periods covered by the provincial school attendance Acts in Canada in 1929, together with the reasons for special exemption from compulsory attendance.

The arguments advanced against the unregulated employment of juveniles are based, in the main, on the effect on the health of the immature worker and on his school attendance and education. The former of these objections was the one put forward by the first opponents of child labour in the early days of the factory system. When the worst evils of child employment were removed, the educational loss to the young worker and to the nation came to be considered. Compulsory school attendance laws are one of the most effective forms of child labour legislation.

A general compulsory system of elementary education was not in force in England until 1880, but the first law (1802) regarding factory children provided that the poor-law apprentices working in the factories should be taught reading, writing and arithmetic and the Factory Act, 1833, required that all children between 8 and 13 years of age who were working in a factory should attend school part-time. The Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 empowered local school authorities to pass by-laws requiring school attendance up to 13 years of age but in 1880 the enactment of such by-laws was made compulsory. The age-limit of children subject to these by-laws was raised to 14 in 1900. In Scotland from 1872 only those children under 14 years of age could be employed who could produce a certificate of elementary education.

The first Canadian law on school attendance was enacted in Ontario in 1871 (c. 33) and required all children from 7 to 12 years of age to attend school for at least four months in each year. But the English Act of 1870 granting power to local authorities to require school attendance within their jurisdiction was the original model for the statutes enacted in British Columbia in 1873 (No. 8), in Nova Scotia in 1883 (c. 17) and in New Brunswick in 1906 (c. 13). In these provinces, local authorities were empowered to make by-laws for the attendance at school of all children of specified ages within their respective districts.

TABLE A.—Age Period¹ for Compulsory School Attendance in Canada, 1929.

Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon
<p>15 unless has completed public school course for 100 per cent of school term except in Charlottetown and Summerside where attendance for full term is required.</p> <p>1920, c. 6; 1921, c. 3; 1923, c. 13.</p> <p>1940 C 1</p>	<p>6-16 in cities and towns; 7-14 elsewhere, but district may fix 6-16.</p> <p>Exceptions — If child over 12 has passed Grade 7 or Grade 7 or if child over 13 satisfies Board that work is necessary and attends night school.</p> <p>R.S. 1923, c. 60; 1924, c. 1; 1926, c. 26.</p> <p><i>Impulsio of this for 1929</i></p>	<p>At option of urban district, attendance may be required from 6-16 for at least 120 days in the year but exemption may be given to a child over 12 who has passed Grade 7 or to one over 13 who has attended 60 days during 14 consecutive weeks in preceding year and needs to work or to one over 14 who has attended for "reasonable period," and is "reasonably proficient."</p> <p>At option of rural district attendance may be required from 7-12 for at least 60 per cent of year.</p> <p>In Fredericton, St. John, Newcastle, Chatham and Marysville, 6-14 compulsory for full term.</p> <p>R.S. 1927, c. 53.</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>ND</p> <p>1924</p> <p>1927</p>	<p>8-16 unless has equivalent of matriculation.</p> <p>Exceptions — Under 14 for not more than 6 weeks in term if services required in husbandry or home duties or for maintenance of self or others; from 14-16, if work or home permit is granted in urban districts or work permit in rural district or if needed at home in rural district.</p> <p>R.S. 1927, c. 332, 333; 1930, c. 43.</p> <p>1931 1930</p> <p>C-368</p> <p>C-367</p>	<p>7-14 unless has completed public school course; 7-15 may be fixed by district; 14-16 if not employed.</p> <p>Exceptions — For child over 12 for not more than 6 weeks in term if services required in husbandry or home duties. Cons. Amend.</p> <p>1924, c. 164</p> <p>1940 C 86</p>	<p>7-15 unless has passed Grade 8. Exceptions — If necessary for maintenance of self or others.</p> <p>R.S. 1926, c. 111; 1927, c. 19; 1929, c. 40; 1928, c. 49.</p> <p>1940 C 167</p>	<p>7-15 unless has passed Grade 8 and no higher grade in school district.</p> <p>Exceptions — For not more than 6 weeks in term if services required in husbandry or home duties or for maintenance of self or others.</p> <p>R.S. 1922, c. 55.</p> <p>1936</p> <p>C-253</p>	<p>7-15 unless has completed course nearest public school.</p> <p>R.S. 1924, c. 226; 1925, c. 46; 1929, c. 55.</p> <p>1936</p>	<p>7-12 for at least 6 weeks in year, 8 of which must be consecutive.</p> <p>C.O. 1914, c. 79.</p>

¹Age limitations refer to period between the ages specified, that is, including the first year stated but not the last.

In 1876 (No. 2), British Columbia repealed the enactment of 1873, granting local option in the matter of education, and passed a compulsory school attendance Act, requiring all children between 7 and 12 years of age to attend school for at least six months of the school year. By a statute of 1901 (c. 48) children in cities in this province were to attend throughout the school term, and rural districts were empowered in 1912 (c. 38) to require attendance for the full term if they desired to do so. The age-limit was raised to the end of the fourteenth year in 1905 (c. 44) and attendance required by statute for the full school term in both urban and rural districts in 1920 (c. 82). A rewording of the Act in 1921 (c. 56) compels attendance up to 15 years of age.

A statute making school attendance compulsory throughout the province has now been enacted in each of the Canadian provinces, with the exception of Quebec and New Brunswick. Quebec has no school attendance law but by an amendment to the Industrial Establishments Act in 1919 (c. 50), employment in any trade or business is forbidden to children under 16 years of age who cannot read and write fluently or who are not attending night school. An educational qualification for employment was first laid down in Quebec in 1907 (c. 39), when it was prohibited to employ in factories children 14 or 15 years old who could not read or write or who were not attending evening classes. In 1910 (c. 27), the clause regarding attendance at night schools was repealed, but was enacted again in 1919.

New Brunswick retains with some modifications the system of local option adopted in 1906. In 1908, a special Act (c. 24) of the Legislature made attendance at school compulsory for all children between 6 and 14 years of age in Chatham, Newcastle, Fredericton and St. John. In 1923 (R.S., c. 53), the town of Marysville was brought within this provision. Elsewhere in the province, local authorities are empowered under the Act of 1906 to adopt the resolution set out in the statute, this resolution to be submitted annually, until adopted, to the qualified voters in rural districts or to the city or town council. The resolution makes provision for compulsory attendance at school in rural districts for at least 60 per cent of the term of children between 7 and 12 years of age and in cities and towns between 6 and 16 years of age for at least 120 days of the school year.

Before enacting a general compulsory law in 1921 (c. 59), Nova Scotia amended from time to time the system of local option in school attendance which was put in force first in 1883 (c. 17). In the city of Halifax attendance was made compulsory in 1888 (c. 46) for children from 8 to 14 for at least six months in the year, but in 1892 (c. 61) attendance was required in that city for 120 days. By an Act of 1895 (c. 1), applying to the rest of the province, it was provided that the resolution, which was to be submitted each year until adopted by the local authority, should require attendance at school for at least 120 days instead of attendance for a minimum of 80 days, as in 1883, and that in towns other than Halifax, children from 6 to 16 years of age must attend school. In Halifax the age limits were unchanged. The age limits in rural districts remained at 7 and 12 years. Four years later (c. 56) Halifax was authorized to require attendance of children 6 to 16 years of age for the full term. Other towns obtained similar rights and in 1915 (c. 4), the first step was taken towards making attendance compulsory throughout the province by the enactment of a statute requiring attendance at school on every school day of all children between 6 and 16 years of age in cities and towns. The optional system was retained for rural districts, the minimum age for school-leaving, in case the compulsory attendance resolution was adopted, being raised to 14 and attendance required for the full term in 1917 (c. 73). Finally, in 1921 (c. 59) attendance was made compulsory by statute in rural districts for children from 7 to 14 years of age and in 1923 (c. 52) such districts were empowered to extend the age limits to 6 and 16 years as in towns.

Prince Edward Island was the second province to adopt the compulsory system. In 1877 (c. 1) school attendance was made compulsory throughout the Island for children from 8 to 13 years of age for at least twelve weeks in each school term, six of which were to be consecutive. In 1917 (c. 10) a difference was made in the Prince Edward Island law between the minimum school attendance required in the towns of Charlottetown and Summerside and in the rest of the province. In these towns a minimum of thirty weeks was laid down and attendance was required up to 14 years of age. In other parts of the Island attendance for twenty weeks was to be required. In 1920 (c. 6) children of seven years were brought within the law and the school-leaving age was lowered to thirteen. Attendance for 60 per cent of the term was made the general minimum in 1921 (c. 3) but in 1928 (c. 13) attendance for the full term was required of children from 7 to 13 years of age in Charlottetown and Summerside.

The Ontario Act of 1871 (c. 33) requiring attendance at school of all children from 7 to 12 years of age for at least four months in the year was amended in 1881 (c. 30) to require children from 7 to 13 years to attend for at least eleven weeks in each term, but

only half this period was required of children employed in factories.¹ Four years later (c. 49) the minimum attendance required was changed to one hundred days, factory children being exempted as before, but it was now made necessary for them to furnish a certificate as to educational standing before being employed. The statute of 1891 (c. 56), which, in the main, is the present law, provided for compulsory attendance from 8 to 14 years of age for the full term. In 1912 (c. 77) cities and towns were given power to require children over 14 and under 17 years of age to attend day or evening classes, but in 1919 (c. 78) the Adolescent School Attendance Act provided for full-time attendance from 14 to 16 years of age or until matriculation. This section of the Act came into operation on September 1, 1921. Part-time attendance for at least 320 hours a year was to be required of those between 16 and 18 years of age who resided in municipalities providing part-time courses of instruction and who had not obtained matriculation standing or attended school up to the age of 16 years.

In what are now the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, school attendance was compulsory under an Ordinance of the Northwest Territories, 1888 (R.O., c. 59), which fixed the age limits at 7 and 12 and required attendance for at least twelve weeks, six of which were to be consecutive. In 1896 (No. 2) eight consecutive weeks were specified, and two years later (No. 29) attendance was required for at least sixteen weeks of all children from 7 up to and including 12 years of age. In 1905 the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed.

The Saskatchewan Schools Act of 1909 (c. 28) required attendance in rural districts of children from 7 up to and including 13 years of age for at least one hundred days, sixty of which must be consecutive. In 1912-13 (c. 35) this wording was changed to read "over seven and under fourteen" years of age. In urban centres, children were to attend for a minimum of one hundred and fifty days, one hundred of which must be consecutive, but in 1917 (c. 19), attendance for the full term was required in both rural and urban districts. A further advance was made in 1922 (c. 48) when attendance was made compulsory up to 15 years of age.

Alberta repealed the Schools Ordinance of the Northwest Territories in 1910, and enacted a statute (2nd session, c. 8) requiring attendance for the full term of all children between 7 and 14. In 1915 (c. 10), the age limit was raised to 15.

Following representations to the Manitoba Government in favour of compulsory school attendance, it was provided in the Manitoba Children's Act, 1913-14 (c. 19), that children from 7 to 14 years old who were not attending school regularly were to be reported to the Minister of Education. In 1916 (c. 97) a school attendance law was passed similar to the 1910 Act in Alberta, the age limits being 7 and 14 and attendance being made obligatory for the full school year. An amendment of 1919 (c. 90) empowered the passing of a by-law requiring attendance up to 15 years of age by school boards employing an attendance officer. In 1924 (c. 60) it was enacted further that children between 14 and 16 years of age must attend school unless they were regularly employed in industry or in household duties or in farm work.

In the Yukon Territory, an Ordinance similar to that of the Northwest Territories of 1898 was passed in 1902 (No. 27). No change has been made since that date and attendance is compulsory for children from 7 up to and including 12 years of age for a minimum of sixteen weeks in the school year, eight of which must be consecutive.

EXEMPTIONS

In all the above laws, as they stand at the present time, children are exempt from school attendance on account of their physical or mental condition, distance from school or education by other means. Poverty is a sufficient reason for non-attendance in the three Maritime Provinces. Children who have attained a specified standard of education are not required to attend school further. In Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British Columbia, children who have completed the public school course are free from obligation under the Acts. In Saskatchewan, it is not compulsory to go beyond Grade 8 nor in Alberta if there is no higher grade in the school district; in Ontario, attendance up to matriculation or its equivalent, is required. In Nova Scotia, a child over 12 who has passed Grade 7 or one over 13 who satisfies the Board that he needs to work and who attends night school may be exempted. In New Brunswick, in an urban district that adopts a compulsory attendance by-law, a child is exempt if he is over 12 and has passed Grade 7, or if over 13 and has gone

¹First prohibition of child labour in factories in Ontario in 1884.
10158-73

to school for 60 days during 14 consecutive weeks and has to support himself or others, or if over 14 and has regularly attended for a "reasonable period" and "is reasonably proficient in writing, reading and the performance of simple arithmetical problems." The exemption thus permitted to a child over 14 was provided for by an amendment in 1911 (c. 34).

In Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario, the laws provide that exemption from attendance may be granted to a child of school age whose services are required in husbandry or in household duties or for the maintenance of himself or others. The period of such exemption is limited to 6 weeks. In Ontario, the school attendance officer may so exempt children under 14 years of age. In Manitoba, only children over 12 may be exempted and in this province and in Alberta a certificate of exemption from the school principal, justice of the peace or other authority is necessary. In Saskatchewan, a child who has to support himself or others is exempt. The British Columbia law allows no exemption. In Prince Edward Island, outside of Charlottetown and Summerside, in the rural districts of New Brunswick that adopt the compulsory attendance resolution, and in the Yukon, attendance for the full term is not required.

In Ontario, under the Adolescent School Attendance Act, a child over 14 years of age may be granted a home or work permit if his services are required about his home or in some gainful occupation. In 1927, 4,138 children between 14 and 16 years of age in urban communities were granted employment certificates. The number in rural districts was 381. Home permits in Ontario were granted to 885 children in cities, towns and villages, and 501 to children in the country districts. A child over 14 and under 16 living in a rural district, whose services are required in his own home or on his parents' farm, is not required to obtain a certificate of exemption from school attendance (1923, c. 55). All employed children of 14 and 15 years of age in towns of 5,000 population and over, however, are required to attend part-time classes of instruction during the day for an aggregate of at least 400 hours a year if such classes are provided. In 1929 such classes were fully organized in Toronto, Hamilton, London and Kitchener. In six other towns, special instruction was given in some branch of industry.

ENFORCEMENT

All the provincial statutes provide penalties for parents or guardians who fail to see that children attend school, but the enforcement of school attendance laws has been found to depend largely on the appointment of special officers for this purpose. The early laws were not enforced unless truant officers were appointed by the municipality or police constables were instructed to act as such. The Commissioners inquiring into labour conditions in 1882 reported of the Ontario Act that they "were unable to find any place in which this Act is enforced."¹ In 1889, the Royal Commission on Capital and Labour commented, also, on the lack of enforcement of the school attendance law in Ontario. This led to the revision of the Ontario law in 1891 and the better enforcement of school attendance through provision for truant officers. With the adoption of clauses in the provincial statutes requiring the appointment of special school attendance officers, the number of children regularly attending school has come nearer to the number of school age, but in both rural and urban areas there are difficulties in the way of enforcement through locally appointed officers.²

"Rural conditions present a more difficult problem than urban. The urban attendance officer is detached from local influence, whereas the rural attendance officer is disinclined to jeopardize his neighbourly relations by resort to severe measures. On the other hand, in the latter case, there are extenuating circumstances, since the rural dweller has to contend against handicaps which do not confront the city resident, and the rural child profits by his many-sided contacts with Nature and the diversified activities of the farm in which he may participate and which are a very real education in themselves."³

At the present time, the Alberta law requires urban municipalities to appoint attendance officers. In Manitoba this obligation is imposed on all cities, towns and incorporated villages or other school districts where three or more teachers are employed. These two provinces provide that the Minister of Education may make similar appointments for rural districts. In Nova Scotia, Ontario and Saskatchewan, all school districts are required by the law to have attendance officers. In these three provinces, as well as in Alberta and Manitoba, the Minister of Education, or Council of Public Instruction in the case of Nova Scotia, is authorized to appoint a provincial attendance officer to direct the enforcement of the Act throughout the province and to have supervision over the local attendance officers. In Nova

¹ Canada, Sess. Paper, No. 42.

² See section on Agriculture, pp. 32-36.

³ Ontario, Report of Provincial School Attendance Officer, 1928, p. 51.

Scotia, the school attendance officers provided for in the Education Act by an amendment of 1923 have not been appointed but the Superintendent of Education announced at Pictou on December 3, 1928, that it was the intention of the Government to appoint these officers to enforce the compulsory school attendance Act in the near future.¹ In Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and British Columbia, the provincial laws do not provide for attendance officers, but local authorities may appoint truant officers on their own initiative. In Prince Edward Island the statute provides for a reduction in the teacher's salary if the average daily attendance is less than 50 per cent of the children of school age in the district.

In Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, a fine of not more than \$20 may be imposed on a parent or guardian who neglects to see that a child in his care attends school. In Ontario and Manitoba a parent or guardian may be fined between \$5 and \$20 or he may be required to give a bond of \$100. In Saskatchewan not more than \$10 may be levied, and in Alberta a first offence is punishable by a similar fine, a second offence by a fine of \$25 and a third by a fine of \$50 or a bond of \$100 may be required. In British Columbia the amount may not exceed \$10 for a first offence but the same fine may be imposed for each day the law is not obeyed. Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Alberta provide for a sentence of imprisonment if the fine is not paid, one month in the former province and 20 days, or for a second offence 30 days, in Manitoba. Alberta fixes the maximum at 10 days. In New Brunswick, where rural districts provide for compulsory school attendance, trustees are to collect from the parents or guardians \$2 for each child who does not attend school during the year and *pro rata* in case of a child who attends less than 60 per cent of the term. In cities and towns where attendance is compulsory, a first offence is punishable by a fine of from \$1 to \$20. For subsequent offences, the fine is \$1 and costs for each day up to a maximum of \$60 exclusive of costs.

PROHIBITION OF EMPLOYMENT

In addition to the positive requirement of these statutes that children of specified ages shall attend school, all the school attendance laws, except those of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, prohibit the employment of such children during school hours, unless they are exempt from attendance at school under the statute. In Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, employment is prohibited under the school-leaving age subject to the exceptions outlined above. In Nova Scotia, the Education Act stipulates that every child of school age must furnish a certificate of physical fitness signed by a physician before engaging in any occupation, but this provision appears not to be enforced.² The local boards of school commissioners are required to examine into the conditions of employed children in Nova Scotia at least twice a year and to see that the provisions of the Act are being carried out. In those cities and towns in New Brunswick, where attendance is compulsory, no child under 13 years may be legally employed at any time in any mechanical, manufacturing or mercantile establishment in the city or town and no child under 16 may be employed in school hours unless he has passed Grade 7 or unless he has attended school for at least 6 months of the 12 months last preceding such employment and in every year in which he is employed, but these restrictions do not apply to a child over 14 if he has attended school for a "reasonable period" and is "reasonably proficient" in reading, writing and arithmetic. The New Brunswick law requires boards of school trustees to make an examination once a year into the situation of employed children to insure that the provisions of the Act are being carried out.

In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, any contravention of the section of the Act prohibiting the employment of children is punishable with a fine of not less than \$10 and not more than \$50 or, in default of payment in the former province, with one month's imprisonment. In Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta the fines for each offence are not to exceed \$100, \$50 and \$20 respectively. In Ontario, a fine of not more than \$20 may be imposed for the employment of a child under 14 years of age during school hours. Any person employing a child between 14 and 16 or 16 and 18 years of age in contravention of the Adolescent School Attendance Act may be fined \$5 for a first offence and not more than \$25 for a subsequent offence.

¹Halifax Chronicle, December 5th, 1928. No action has yet been taken, February, 1930.

²See p. 121.

SUMMARY

School attendance laws in Canada began, then, with general compulsory laws in Ontario and Prince Edward Island and statutes in British Columbia and Nova Scotia leaving to the option of the local ratepayers or the town council as to whether or not children should be compelled to attend school and laying down the terms of a model resolution or by-law for adoption by these authorities. One after another, the other provinces, except Quebec, enacted school attendance laws of one form or another. All the present school attendance laws, except that of New Brunswick, are designed to make attendance compulsory throughout the province. At first, the school-leaving age was fixed as low as twelve years in several provinces and attendance was required for only a part of the school year. No provision was made at first for seeing that these statutes were enforced although penalties were provided for their violation. By amendments from time to time, raising the minimum age for leaving school and permitting exemption only in special cases, prohibiting the employment of children of school age in school hours, requiring attendance for the entire term and providing for the appointment of local and provincial attendance officers, these laws gradually brought about a tremendous increase in the proportion of children at school.

There is a growing tendency to provide special classes for retarded children, who form a large proportion of the juveniles who leave school for employment at an early age. Those who are retarded because of irregular attendance from one cause or another constitute a problem in enforcement of the law but those who are retarded because of physical or mental defects constitute a problem involving mental and physical examinations and treatment, special teachers and equipment, manual training classes, and vocational guidance of a very special kind.

With the adoption of workmen's compensation and mothers' pensions laws and provision for soldiers' pensions and for old age pensions, there are fewer cases where necessity seems to require that children leave school for work. All these developments in social legislation have helped to increase the number of children at school.

MINES

Table B shows the minimum ages established by statute for employment in mines in Canada. Table C outlines the chronological development of minimum age legislation in connection with mines in Canada.

TABLE B.—Minimum Ages for Employment in Mines in Canada, 1929

N.S.	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Sas-katchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon
16....	15, below ground. No girls in workings of mine.	18, below ground; 16, aboveground. No girls except in office or domestic work.	Lt.-Gov. in council may fix minimum age. No regulations issued.	14; no girls in workings of mine.	16, below ground; 14, above ground. No girls except in office or domestic work.	(1) coal, 15, below ground; 14, above ground. No girls except in office or domestic work. (2) metal, 12. No girls underground.	12, 12-15, only if able to read and write and do simple arithmetic.

¹Age for employment above ground raised to 16 in 1930.

Mining and manufacturing on an extensive scale did not develop in Canada until after the enactment of legislation for the regulation and inspection of mines and factories in Great Britain. In this field, as in so many others, Canadian legislation followed, in the main, earlier enactments in the Mother Country and working conditions in mines and factories in Canada were, therefore, prevented from falling to the depths of misery that were revealed by the British commissions of inquiry at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The employment of children in coal mines in Britain first came under regulation in 1842 following a report of a commission, appointed by the Government, which revealed distressing conditions among the women and children working in the coal mines. The Act of

TABLE C—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF STATUTORY MINIMUM AGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR OF JUVENILES IN MINES IN CANADA

NOVA SCOTIA	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MANITOBA	NORTHWEST TERRITORIES		BRITISH COLUMBIA	YUKON
1873, c. 10 (Coal and Metal)	1892, c. 20 No girls in work- ing of mine	1890, c. 10 No girls, 15 boys below ground, 15-17, boys below ground not more than 8 hours per day or 45 per week	1927, c. 38 1. Governor in Council may make regulations re age, sex, and hours of labour of persons employed in mines	1893, Ordinance No. 5 A. Registrar of ages of employees to be required		1877, No. 15 (Coal)	1901 Ordinance No. 38
A. 10, boys above or below ground; 10-12, boys below ground not more than 10 hours a day or 46 hours a week	15, boys below ground, 17-17, boys below ground not more than 45 hours per week	B. 14, boys or girls in or about a mine; 17, boys below ground Girls or women only in office	Re-enacts above	1898, Ordinance No. 2 B. 12, boys in working of a mine, no girls		A. No girls below ground, 12 boys below ground; 12-14, boys below ground only if Minister thinks necessary owing to thinness of veins and for not more than 6 hours a day or 5 days a week; 14-16, boys below ground not more than 6 hours a day or 30 hours a week, 12, boys or girls above ground, 12-14, children above ground for not more than 6 hours a day or 5 days a week; 14-16, children above ground not more than 6 hours a day or 30 hours a week	12, boys above or below ground, 12- 16, boys above or below ground not more than 8 hours a day or 45 a week and only if able to read and write and do simple arithmetic
B. 12, boys above or below ground, 12-18, must be able to read and write and do simple arithmetic; 12-16, hours not to exceed 10 a day or 54 a week	1891, c. 9 (Coal and Metal)	1912, c. 8 C. Eight-hour day for miners below ground in parts of province without county or municipal organization	1930, c. 27	SASKATCHEWAN 1917, c. 10 C. 14, boys No girls in work- ings of mine. R.S. 1920, c. 178 Re-enacts C.		1883, c. 2 (Coal)	C. O. 1914, c. 65 Re-enacts as above.
R.S. 1900, c. 19 (Coal) c. 20 (Metal)	R.S. 1925, c. 60 Re-enacts no above.	1919, c. 12 D. 16, in or about a mine; 18, boys be- low ground. Girls only in office.		ALBERTA 1906, c. 25 (Coal) C. 12, boys below ground; no girls below ground; 12-18, boys (above or below ground) only if able to read and write and do simple arith- metic. 1908, c. 20 (Coal) D. 14, boys below ground; 12-18, boys above ground only if able to read and write and do simple arith- metic. 1913 (1st sess.) c. 4 E. 16, boys below ground; 14, boys above ground; 14-16, boys above ground only if able to read and write and do simple arithmetic. Girls only in office. Eight-hour day for all underground workers. R.S. 1922, c. 190 Re-enacts E. 1930, c. 24 (Coal) Repeals R.S. 1922, c. 190; F. 16, boys below ground or in surface workings of any mine. No girls except in clerical or domestic work. Eight- hour day underground.		1897, c. 27 (Metal) C. No girls below ground; 12, boys below ground; 12-16, boys below ground for not more than 10 hours a day and 54 a week. 1899, c. 49 (Metal) D. Eight-hour day for underground workers. 1904, c. 38 (Coal) E. Eight-hour day for underground workers. 1911, c. 33 (Coal) F. 13, boys below ground; 14, boys above ground. Girls only in office or domestic work. 1915, c. 54 (Coal) G. Eight-hour day for workers above ground. 1918, c. 55 (Metal) H. Eight-hour day for workers above ground. R.S. 1924, c. 171 (Coal) Re-enacts E, F, G. R.S. 1924, c. 172 (Metal) Re-enacts C, D, H.	No person on or about placer min- ing operations for more than 8 hours in 24 except for change of shift or by written agree- ment.
1902, c. 5 (Coal and Metal)							
D. Re-enacts B.							
1906, c. 8 (Coal)							
E. 12-16, must have completed Grade 7 in school.							
1913, c. 15 (Metal)							
F. 12-16, must have completed Grade 7 in school.							
1923, c. 54 (Coal)							
G. 16, boys in or about any coal mine.							
R.S. 1923, c. 23 (Coal)							
H. Re-enacts G.							
R.S. 1923, c. 24 (Metal)							
I. Re-enacts B as amended F.							
1924, c. 18 (Coal)							
J. Eight-hour day for all workers below ground.							
1927, c. 1 (Coal)							
K. Re-enacts G, J.							
1927, c. 2 (Metal)							
L. 16, in or about any metal mine							

1842 forbade the employment underground of girls or women or boys under 10 years of age. In 1860, Parliament took the further step of requiring that boys of ten and eleven years working about the mines must attend school for six hours a week unless they could produce a certificate that they could read and write and do simple arithmetic. In 1872 the minimum age for full-time employment underground, in either coal or metal mines, was raised to twelve and the hours restricted to ten a day and fifty-four a week. But boys of ten and eleven could work in thin coal seams for part-time or above ground for part-time of six hours a day for six days or ten hours a day for three days. Attendance at school was required of these children for a specified number of hours per week.

The mining industry in Canada developed at an earlier date than manufacturing on a large scale. For more than a century before the Confederation of the Canadian provinces in 1867, coal mines in Nova Scotia had been worked more or less regularly and on Vancouver Island coal had been mined since about 1836, but the Crowsnest and other districts of the British Columbia mainland did not produce coal until 1898. Metals and other non-metallic minerals were mined early in the history of both these provinces and in Ontario and Quebec. Coal was mined later in New Brunswick and in Alberta. Lignite fields were developed, also, in the latter province and in Saskatchewan. Other mineral development occurred in these provinces and in Manitoba where production became important only at a comparatively recent date. In Saskatchewan the mining industry is of relatively slight extent and in Prince Edward Island there is practically none.

Legislation governing working conditions in mines was enacted in each of the provinces except New Brunswick as the mining industry developed. Such statutes were passed in Nova Scotia and British Columbia in the seventies and in Ontario and Quebec in the nineties. In 1898 an Ordinance was passed for the Northwest Territories covering what is now Alberta and Saskatchewan and in 1901 an Ordinance of the Yukon regulated the conditions under which miners were employed in that territory. Finally, in 1927, the Legislature of Manitoba empowered the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to issue regulations concerning the age, sex and working hours of persons employed in mines. No action has been taken under the authority of this clause. All these laws contain sections providing for the safety of miners but these apply to all workers and there are no special regulations with regard to juveniles. The inspection of mines is provided for and persons who contravene their provisions are liable to penalties. A minimum age is fixed, also, for those employed in connection with hoisting machinery but such provisions are made rather with a view to insuring the safety of others and are not considered in this article.

The Legislature of Nova Scotia was the first in Canada to enact a statute regulating the employment of children in mines. By an Act of 1873, ten years was fixed as the minimum age for the employment of boys above or below ground in coal or metal mines in Nova Scotia and the hours of labour below ground of boys under 12 were not to exceed 10 in a day or 60 in a week. This statute made no mention of the employment of girls, which was prohibited in Britain in 1842, and it is doubtful if any were ever employed below ground in Canada. Four years later, the British Columbia Legislature established 12 years as the minimum age for employment above or below ground in coal mines and allowed boys under 14 to work underground only where the thinness of the coal seams led the Minister of Mines to give special permission for their employment. The working hours of these boys and all boys under 16 in or about coal mines were limited to 6 in any one day or 30 in a week. In 1883, however, these restrictions were confined to boys under 14 years of age. The exception which could be made in the age-limit for work in places where the coal lay in thin seams was similar to the practice under the British Mines Act from 1872 to 1887.

In Ontario and Quebec, the first enactments in 1890 and 1892, respectively, fixed fifteen years as the minimum age for employment below ground and limited the hours underground of boys under 17 to 48 in the week. Twelve years was adopted as the age-standard in the Northwest Territories in 1898 and in the Yukon in 1901 but in all the provinces regulating child labour in mines, except Quebec, the minimum ages fixed in the early laws have been raised. At the present time, the minimum age for boys below ground in coal mines is 16 in Nova Scotia and Alberta and 15 in British Columbia. Above ground, boys may work about coal mines at 16 years of age in Nova Scotia and Alberta, and at 14 years in British Columbia. In other mines, the minimum age for employment below ground is 18 in Ontario, 16 in Nova Scotia and Alberta, 15 in Quebec, 14 in Saskatchewan and 12 in British Columbia. In the last-named province, no change has been made in the law on this point since 1897. For work above ground in connection with metal mines, it is prohibited to

employ boys under 16 in Nova Scotia, Ontario and Alberta and boys under 14 in Saskatchewan. The Metalliferous Mines Act of British Columbia does not fix a minimum age for work above ground nor does the Mines Act of Quebec.

In addition to establishing a minimum age for employment in mines, laws in Nova Scotia, Alberta and the Yukon Territory followed a principle laid down in the British statute of 1860 and required children below a specified age to be able to furnish a certificate of proficiency in "the three R's." The Canadian laws stipulated that boys under 16 could be employed only if they could read and write and do simple arithmetic. With the adoption of a provincial system of compulsory education and the raising of the age for employment in Nova Scotia and Alberta to 16, this educational qualification was no longer necessary. It is still imposed for boys under this age who are employed above ground about the mines in the Yukon Territory.

Girls are permitted by statute to be employed only in clerical or domestic work in connection with mining operations in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. The Quebec and Saskatchewan laws prohibit the employment of girls "in the workings of a mine."

Under the early mining laws of Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and the Yukon, the hours of employment below ground of boys under a specified age were limited. Later the age-limit for employment was advanced in Nova Scotia, British Columbia and Ontario to the age previously protected as far as hours were concerned.

The eight-hour movement was another factor in doing away with the special regulation of the working hours of boys in mines. In the coal mines of Nova Scotia, British Columbia and Alberta, all workers below ground, with the exception of those necessary to the proper maintenance of the mines, have an eight-hour day by law. Mineral production in Alberta is practically confined to coal and other non-metallic minerals such as salt, clay products and other structural materials. In British Columbia those employed above ground in the coal mining industry, also, have a statutory eight-hour day, and in Alberta and Nova Scotia the same class of workers are limited to eight hours a day by agreement between the mining companies and the miners' unions. Under the Metalliferous Mines Act of British Columbia, workers above and below ground in such mines have an eight-hour day. An Ontario statute of 1913 provided for a day of eight hours for all miners below ground in the parts of the province without county organization, and it is in these northern districts that the largest mining operations in Ontario are carried on. The statute provided, further, that the same limitation might be imposed on the hours of miners in other parts of the province by proclamation to that effect by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The revised Mines Act of 1927 re-enacts this provision, under which no action has been taken. The sections of the original enactments dealing with hours of labour in Quebec and the Yukon have not been changed, the working hours of boys under 17 in Quebec and of boys under 16 in the Yukon being limited to 48 a week. A Yukon ordinance was passed in 1930 to limit the hours of employment in or about placer mining operations to eight in any 24 except during a change of shifts or by written agreement as to the rate of pay for overtime. The Saskatchewan Mines Act establishes a minimum age of 14 for employment in mines but does not restrict hours of labour.

The 1928 amendment to the Ontario Mining Act, designed to prevent silicosis and requiring an annual medical examination, affects only those employed underground or engaged in ore or rock-crushing operations at the surface of any mine. Since no boy under 18 may work below ground in Ontario, this enactment is of interest in connection with juvenile employment only in so far as ore or rock-crushing operations are concerned. The Manitoba Mines Act contains a similar provision to come into force on proclamation.

FACTORIES

Tables D and E show the minimum ages and the maximum hours of labour for juvenile employment in factories in Canada in 1929. Table F indicates the chronological development of the legislation in each of the provinces.

The early manufacturing industry of Canada was carried on in small mills wherever the raw material was available or the needs of the neighbouring community justified it. Local demands were provided for, but no wider market was reached by the saw-mills, woollen mills, flour and grist mills, tanneries, boot and shoe factories, foundries, carriage factories, sugar refineries, distilleries and breweries, sash and door factories, tobacco factories, tin and sheet-iron working shops, printing offices, tailoring and dress-making shops and others which were scattered through the Maritime Provinces, Quebec and Ontario and British Columbia. But with the development of the country, more and larger manufacturing establishments were built and the conditions surrounding factory labour came into prominence.

TABLE D.—Minimum Ages for Employment in Factories in Canada, 1929.

Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatche- wan	Alberta	British Columbia
14 except in canneries during July-Oct.	School Attendance Act provides for local option in compul- sory school attendance. Where adopted, no child un- der 16 may be employed in city or town in school hours unless has passed Grade 7 or attends school 6 months, and no child under 13 may be employed.	14; 16, unless able to read and write fluently or attending night school.	14; 16 in school hours unless with work or home permit in urban districts or with work permit or if needed at home in rural districts.	14, boys; 15, girls.	14, boys; 15, girls.	15	15, except with written per- mission of inspector who must specify hours which are not to exceed 6 per day.

TABLE E.—Maximum Hours of Labour for Juveniles in Factories in Canada, 1929

Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
1 Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12½-hr. day; 72½-hr. week for 36 days in year.	Girls over 14½ 10-hr. day, 60-hr. week. Act does not apply to fish or fruit canneries.	Girls, boys under 18, 10-hr. day, 55-hr. week.	Girls, boys under 16, 10-hr. day, 60-hr. week, and not later than 6.30 p.m. except with permit.	Girls, boys under 17, 9-hr. day, 54-hr. week.	Girls, boys under 16, 48-hr. week and not later than 6.30 p.m. except with permit.	All employees, 9-hr. day, 54-hr. week except with permit from inspector and excepting but-ter and cheese factories, grain elevators and saw mills in towns of less than 5,000.	Girls 8 hr. day, 48-hr. week.
Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12½-hr. day; 72½-hr. week for 36 days in year.	Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12-hr. day, 72-hr. week for 6 weeks in year.	Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12-hr. day, 72-hr. week for 36 days in year.	Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12-hr. day, 60-hr. week for 36 days in year.	Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12-hr. day, 60-hr. week for 36 days in year for girls. No limit on hours of boys under 17.	Emergencies— Inspector may permit 12½-hr. day, 72½-hr. week for 36 days in year.		Emergencies— Inspector may permit 9-hr. day, 54-hr. week for 36 days in year if girl or parent gives consent to overtime.
Prohibited hours 9 p.m.-6 a.m. except in canneries July-Oct.	Prohibited hours 10.30 p.m.-6 a.m.	Prohibited hours 9 p.m.-6 a.m. Cotton and wool-len mills 6.30 p.m.-7 a.m.	Prohibited hours 6.30 p.m.-7 a.m. Emergencies, 9 p.m.-6 a.m.	Prohibited hours 10 p.m.-7 a.m. for girls.	Prohibited hours 10 p.m.-7 a.m.		Prohibited hours 8 p.m.-7 a.m. Canneries excepted as above.
				Minimum Wage Orders fix 9-hr. day and 48-hr. week with weekly half-holiday for women. Most factories no overtime for minors.		Minimum Wage Order fixes maximum of 48 hours per week for females in factories.	

¹No limit is fixed by Act except in emergencies. For explanation of this anomaly, see pp. 114-115.

²Act of 1919 does not forbid work under 14, but no change was made in definition of "young girl" as one over 14 and under 18 years.

TABLE 1.—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF STATUTORY MINIMUM AGES AND MAXIMUM HOURS OF LABOUR OF JUVENILES IN FACTORIES IN CANADA

PROPOSED DOMINION LEGISLATION

As early as 1873, the newly-formed Canadian Labour Union passed a resolution in favour of a law to prevent the employment of children under ten years of age in factories where machinery was used. No action was taken in any of the Legislatures, however, until 1879. In that year, Dr. Darby Bergin, member of Parliament for Cornwall, Ontario, which was already a manufacturing town of some consequence, introduced in the Dominion House of Commons, the first of a number of Bills, which he was to sponsor during the succeeding seven years, to regulate the employment of children, young persons and women in factories. This first attempt in Canada to legislate on behalf of children in factories was based on the English factory system as regulated by the various Acts from 1819 to 1878. In addition to a minimum age of ten years for employment in a factory, the principal features of the Bill were the provision for the employment of children under 13 on the part-time system as in England, the clauses requiring school attendance of these children, the regulations regarding hours of labour for children, young persons and women and the provisions for the health and safety of the workers.

COMMISSION OF 1882

In the two following sessions of Parliament, a similar Bill was introduced and on the third occasion a motion was made for second reading but withdrawn on the promise of the Hon. Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works, that the Government was prepared to appoint a commission of inquiry into working conditions in the mills and factories of the Dominion and to draft a Bill to meet the conditions revealed. Messrs. William Lukes and A. H. Blackeby were commissioned to make such an inquiry in 1881. After an inspection of 465 factories in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, they submitted a report in January 1882, from which the following abstract is quoted:—

“The employment of children and young persons in mills and factories is extensive, and largely on the increase, the supply being unequal to the demand, particularly in some localities, which may partially explain why those of such tender years are engaged. As to obtaining with accuracy the ages of the children employed, we found some difficulty, inasmuch as the employer has no record thereof, having no interest or obligation in so doing; consequently, in order to ascertain their ages, they were interrogated either by one of the Commissioners or some one in the factory. We are sorry to report that in very many instances the children, having no education whatever, could not tell their ages; this applies more particularly to those from twelve years downwards—some being found as young as eight and nine years. On making our inquiries of these children as to their age, a reluctance to answer was shown by some, who could not understand the reason for the question being asked by strangers, and in other cases the answers were so obviously exaggerated as to lead us to believe that they were not truthfully given; occasionally when we could gain the confidence of the very young children, we took the opportunity of ascertaining, as far as possible, why they were at work so young, with answers as follows: ‘Having no father, had to help mother to get a living’—‘Would rather work than go to school.’ Some are there from the cupidity of their parents who have good positions as mechanics; others from the idle habits of the parents, who live on the earnings of the children, this being confirmed in one instance where three children were at work having a father as above described. Your Commissioners found this too often the case in cities and factory districts. It must be borne in mind that the children invariably work as many hours as adults, and if not compelled, are requested, to work overtime when circumstances so demand, which has not been unusual of late in most lines of manufactures. The appearance and condition of the children in the after part of the day, such as may be witnessed in the months of July and August, was anything but inviting or desirable. They have to be at the mills or factories at 6.30 a.m. necessitating their being up at from 5.30 to 6 o’clock for their morning meal, some having to walk a distance of half a mile or more to their work. This undeniably is too heavy a strain on children of tender years, and is utterly condemned by all except those who are being directly benefitted by such labour, and which they attempt to justify on the grounds,

“1st. That labour is light.

“2nd. That it is not practicable for those more advanced in years.

“3rd. That their competitors in the trade use this kind of labour.

“4th. As there is no law or restriction on the question, some use it, and others

who might be more liberally inclined have to follow.”

In the statistics appended to the Report, it is set out that 173 boys and girls under ten years of age were employed in the factories visited, of whom 89 were working in cotton

mills. The number of children between ten and 15 years was 2,086, of whom the largest numbers were employed in factories producing cotton, cigars and tobacco, iron manufactures, wood products and woollen goods in the order named. Of the 43,511 persons employed in these industrial establishments, 2,259 or 5·2 per cent were children under 15 years of age.

No action was taken by the Government on this report during the session of 1882 but the Hon. James C. Aikins introduced a Bill in the Senate to establish ten as the minimum age for employment in a factory and to prohibit children under 14 working more than eight hours a day or 30 in a week, and persons under 18 more than ten hours per day or 60 per week. Following a second reading, the Bill was withdrawn.

In the following year, Sir Leonard Tilley, Minister of Finance, brought in a Bill to define certain offences against persons employed in factories. It was proposed to prohibit children under twelve working in factories, to require these up to 15 to produce a certificate of age and to forbid children under 15 being employed more than ten hours a day or 60 a week. This Bill, too, was withdrawn and one introduced by the Government in the following year, 1884, came to the same end.

In the meantime, however, the Legislature of Ontario had taken up the subject which was being pressed on its attention, as on that of the Dominion, through resolutions from labour organizations urging the enactment of a factory law. An Ontario Factories Act was passed in 1884 to come into force on proclamation to that effect. The question of jurisdiction as between the Dominion and the provinces was under discussion and it would appear from the title of Sir Leonard Tilley's Bill to define certain offences against persons employed in factories that it was hoped to bring the subject within the field of criminal law and so within the scope of the Dominion Parliament. Pending the decision as to jurisdiction in the matter, the Ontario statute was not put in force.

Dr. Bergin, thereupon, came forward during the session of 1885 with another Bill which contained clauses requiring school attendance similar to those in his earlier Bills. The objections raised on the ground that education was a subject specifically reserved to the provinces caused the Bill to be withdrawn and redrafted. The new Bill proposed to fix 13 as the minimum age for employment in order not to conflict with the Ontario law requiring school attendance up to that age. Dr. Bergin based his objections to child labour and a long working day for young persons on knowledge acquired as a physician in an industrial town with large cotton mills and on information as to the results of the factory legislation in Britain. He remarked during the course of his speech on the second reading of the Bill in 1885 that since the introduction of his Bill in 1880,

"the working hours were confined to sixty hours per week in all the *large* mills in this country. . . . Children from ten years up to 13 and 14 and 15 are working in our mills from half-past six in the morning until half-past six in the evening, with an hour's intermission at noon for dinner. . . . I regret that I do not see my way to ask the House to prohibit, as I said before, the employment of children under 16 years of age."

The debate on the Bill was not resumed and nothing further was done during the session, the Minister of Justice having expressed the opinion that the matter did not come within the Dominion's powers. Early in the next session, 1886, however, the Government stated that no decision with regard to jurisdiction had been reached and Dr. Bergin again brought in his Bill. No action was taken on it and later in the year the Ontario Factories Act, 1884, was proclaimed. In the meantime a similar Act was passed in Quebec in 1885 but in neither province were these laws enforced to any extent until after the report of the Royal Commission on Labour and Capital in 1889.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR AND CAPITAL

In December, 1886, the Dominion Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into and report on the relations between labour and capital and other matters connected with the labour problem. The Commissioners, after hearing evidence in the principal towns in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, submitted two reports in 1889. In both reports comment is made on the child labour employed in these provinces:—

"As will be seen from the evidence, in many of the factories and workshops the employment of children of tender years prevails extensively. It would be a waste of time to point out the injurious effects likely to arise from this evil. So long as it is allowed to continue the amount of education necessary to fit these children to become useful members of society cannot possibly be acquired.

"In addition to their mental injury, there are also the physical ills which naturally follow upon a too early application to continuous work in the close-confined atmosphere of badly ventilated work-rooms.

"To remedy this evil it is demanded that the employment of children, of either sex, under 14 years of age, be strictly forbidden; that factories in which women and children are employed shall not commence work before 7 o'clock a.m., that the hours of child and female labour shall not exceed 54 in one week or more than ten in any one day, and that night work be prohibited in all cases for children under 16 years of age.

"Laws regulating the employment of women and children in factories and work-shops are on the statute books of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. So far as could be learned by the commission, they are largely inoperative and as long as any doubt exists with reference to the constitutionality of these measures they are likely to remain so. Masters and workmen agreed that it would be desirable to have a general Act upon this important subject. It is earnestly recommended that a test case be made and the jurisdiction settled once for all. If it were found that the power to legislate is vested in the provinces, existing Acts could be more efficiently enforced, and workingmen in the other provinces could bring pressure to bear upon their local governments to enact similar measures."¹

Special mention was made of the injurious effect on children of work in cigar and tobacco factories, of the long hours in cotton mills particularly and of night work in glass factories.

"While we cannot undertake to say where the responsibility for these evils rests, whether the duty of wholly removing them falls upon the Dominion or upon the provincial legislature, we think the laws should be uniform throughout the Dominion; and we are firmly persuaded that the continuous employment of children under 14 years of age should be forbidden. Such prohibition we believe essential to proper physical development and the securing of an ordinary education. Further, medical testimony proves conclusively that girls, when approaching womanhood cannot be employed at severe or long-continued work without serious danger to their health, and the evil effects may follow them throughout their lives.

"The employment of children is one of the most important subjects which can commend themselves to the attention of legislative bodies."²

The commissioners were impressed with the difficulty confronting any one province in attempting to set higher standards in such matters than were maintained in the neighbouring provinces:—

"The utter uselessness of a provincial law on a matter like this, where all the provinces are alike interested, has been made clearly apparent. Where a law has been passed by one province, imposing restrictions upon the number of hours to be worked, or the ages of children who may be employed, and the adjoining province refuses or neglects to do so, there is a great temptation on the part of the former not to put the law in motion for fear of embarrassing the manufacturers. It is apt to be considered, that no restrictions should be placed upon one industry that do not apply equally to all who are in the same business. The protection which is given to manufacturers against outside competition proceeds from the Federal Government, and is enjoyed by all in common, and equally all should be placed on the same footing in the matter of restrictions. There is too, a keen competition between different localities for the securing of these industrial establishments, and as the capitalist will naturally locate his mill at a point where there are no restrictions as to the hours of labour or class of help to be employed in preference to another place, where these laws are in force, an unfair advantage is enjoyed by the province which refuses to pass a fair, just, and reasonable measure of protection to the factory workers."³

Following the publication of the report of the commission, the Dominion Parliament passed an Act providing for a Bureau of Labour Statistics⁴ to compile and publish information. The regulation of working conditions was agreed, however, to be within the provincial legislative powers.

PROVINCIAL LAWS

Laws in Canada, then, governing the employment of juveniles in factories date from the enactment in Ontario in 1884 of a statute based largely on the British Factory Acts. Quebec followed with a similar enactment in 1885, Manitoba in 1900, Nova Scotia in 1901, New Brunswick in 1905, British Columbia in 1908, Saskatchewan in 1909 and Alberta in

¹Report, Royal Commission on Labour and Capital, 1889, p. 79.

²Ibid, p. 36.

³Ibid, p. 89.

⁴1890, c. 15.

1917. Prince Edward Island has no manufacturing industry of any extent and there is no Factory Act in that province. Neither is there an ordinance governing factories in the Yukon Territory. In the main, the provincial factory laws embodied the same set of principles, one province after another as its industrial conditions demanded enacting a statute based largely on the contemporary law in the other provinces.

Sections of these laws provide for the health and safety of the workers and are of special interest in connection with the employment of young persons as being more susceptible to the injurious effects of poisons, dusts, fumes, gases, humidity and extreme temperatures, and more liable to accidents, through unguarded machinery and dangerous occupations. No attempt is made, however, in this bulletin to deal with the particular requirements of the provincial laws on these points except in so far as provision is made for young persons only.

All the provinces, except Nova Scotia, restricted their first law regulating factories to establishments employing not less than a certain number of persons. In Ontario and Quebec, the earliest statutes covered only factories having more than 20 employees. The law in Quebec was extended to include all factories in 1888. In Ontario, establishments with five or more employees were included in 1889, and in 1918 all factories employing mechanical power and other manufacturing establishments having more than five workmen were brought within the scope of the Act. The original enactments in Manitoba and British Columbia covered only establishments employing five or more workers but both laws were amended to include all factories using mechanical power and other manufacturing establishments with more than three employees. The Saskatchewan Act of 1909 applied only to those factories that had six or more persons employed but those employing more than three were brought later within its scope. The New Brunswick statute of 1905 was confined to factories with over ten employees and the law has not been changed in this respect.

ENFORCEMENT

The provisions of the provincial factory laws are enforced by inspectors appointed specially for the purpose. These officials are given the right of entry into any establishments covered by the Acts; they have wide discretionary power with regard to conditions they deem dangerous to the health, safety or morals of the employees, and are given authority to institute prosecutions, to call for the production of papers, to summon witnesses and to take other measures for the proper carrying out of the law. Notices of certain provisions of the statutes are required to be posted where they can be seen by the employees; registers of the boys and girls employed have to be kept except in New Brunswick and Quebec. But in these two provinces, as in others, birth certificates are required for children under 16. Three inspectors were appointed to enforce the Ontario statute in July, 1887, and three were appointed in Quebec in May, 1888. In each of the other provinces one inspector was appointed shortly after the enactment of the law. With the growth of the manufacturing industry and the extension of the various Acts to cover additional establishments more inspectors had to be appointed. In some of the provinces, factory inspectors have been assigned duties under legislation dealing with minimum wages, shops, elevator and boiler inspection, fire prevention and other laws of the kind. At the present time, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have each one factory inspector; Saskatchewan has two male and one female inspector and British Columbia has three male inspectors and two women inspectors. Alberta employs thirteen inspectors, one being a woman; Manitoba fifteen, of whom two are women; Quebec, sixteen, of whom three are women and Ontario, nineteen of whom five are women. In these four provinces, the same staff inspects factories, shops, theatres and other places required to be inspected for the protection of the labour employed therein.

Parents of children or young persons who are illegally employed with their consent or connivance are liable to a fine not exceeding \$50, or to imprisonment for not more than three months under the laws of all the provinces except Alberta and New Brunswick. In the latter province the maximum penalty is a fine of \$25, or imprisonment for not longer than two months. In Alberta, the only penalty for this offence is a fine of not more than \$50. False entries in documents are punishable by a fine not exceeding \$100 in all but New Brunswick, where the maximum fine is \$75. An alternative of imprisonment for this offence is provided in all eight provinces, the term of imprisonment not to be more than six months in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, and not exceeding three months in Alberta and New Brunswick.

Ontario and Saskatchewan provide a maximum fine of \$500 or imprisonment for 12 months for an employer who keeps a factory so that the health of any person in it is likely to be injured. For a similar offence Alberta imposes not more than \$100 or three months' imprisonment. A factory in Saskatchewan kept so that the health of a young person or woman is likely to be permanently injured renders the owner liable to not more than \$100, or to imprisonment for six months. The same penalty is provided for the employment of children contrary to the Act. A contravention of the Quebec law in regard to sanitation and safety is punishable by a fine of not more than \$200 or imprisonment for twelve months. In Nova Scotia and Manitoba the employer is liable for offences under the Act to a fine not exceeding \$50, or to three months' imprisonment. In British Columbia the fine for a first offence must be between \$50 and \$100, for a second offence from \$100 to \$200 or, in either case, there may be a sentence of imprisonment for from one to three months. In New Brunswick, a fine of not less than \$25, and not more than \$50, or three months' imprisonment, may be imposed on any employer contravening such provisions of the Act.

MINIMUM AGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR

The first Ontario and Quebec statutes fixed a lower minimum age for employment than that established by the provinces enacting factory legislation at a later date, but these two provinces had raised the age standard above that originally fixed before Manitoba, the third province to enact a factory law, had passed her first statute regulating industrial establishments. On the whole, the legislatures of the four western provinces fixed higher minimum ages and shorter hours of labour than those of the eastern provinces.

The Ontario and Quebec Factory Acts of 1884 and 1885, respectively, placed similar restrictions on child labour. No boys under 12 and no girls under 14 could be employed in a factory. The employer was required to have a certificate of age for each child under 14 years who was working in his establishment. This certificate was to be signed by the parent or guardian or by a registered physician to the effect that in his opinion the child was not less than 12 years of age. In adopting this method of enforcing the law regarding the ages of employed children, Canadian legislation followed the British Factory Act enacted before the registration of births was made compulsory. Such a certificate is still required under the Quebec Industrial Establishments Act, as the statute is now called, for boys and girls under 16 years of age who are employed in the factories of that province. The services of the "sanitary physicians," appointed to issue these certificates, were to be utilized, also, in connection with the provisions of the Act for ensuring the health and safety of the factory workers. No such officers have been appointed, however, since the original appointees died or left the service.¹

The hours of labour for boys under 14 and girls under 18, under the first Ontario and Quebec statutes, were limited to ten in the day, unless a different arrangement were made to provide for a short working-day on Saturday, and to 60 in the week. The factory inspector was empowered to permit longer hours in case of an accident or occurrence beyond the control of the employer which interfered with the regular operation of the factory or where any custom or exigency of the trade required it, if, in his judgment, such exemption would "fairly and equitably to the employers and to the children, young persons and women in such factories make up for any loss of labour from such accident or occurrence, or meet the requirements of such custom or exigency of trade." In case this exemption was granted by the inspector, it was stipulated that the working hours of those employed should fall between six in the morning and nine in the evening and should not exceed 12½ hours a day or 72½ hours a week, the period of such exemption not to be longer than six weeks. One hour was to be allowed for the noon-day meal and, if work were prolonged beyond 7 p.m., forty-five minutes were to be granted for the evening meal.

The limitations on working hours have not been changed¹ since the original enactments except that, in Ontario, under normal conditions, hours of labour may not extend beyond 6.30 p.m. and the time for which the inspector could permit longer hours than the normal was amended to 36 days instead of six weeks and, in Quebec, the extra half-hour to which work might be prolonged was dropped in 1894, the maximum number of hours for which exemption may be granted in that province being twelve in the day and 72 in the week. But, while the original statutes limited the working hours of boys under 14

¹Survey, Public Health Activities, Montreal, October, 1928, p. 126.

²Act passed in 1930 in Quebec reduces maximum weekly hours for young persons and women in all factories to 55.

and girls under 18, amendments have raised the ages of boys thus protected to 18 in Quebec and to 16 in Ontario. Greater restrictions have been placed, too, on the working hours of employees in the cotton and woollen factories in Quebec, 55 hours being the maximum number permitted to young persons and women in these mills under a statute of 1910.¹

Working hours for girls and women may be limited in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Nova Scotia, by orders of the Minimum Wage Boards. In Ontario, the Minimum Wage Board may specify the hours for which the minimum rate is payable and a wage rate may be established for any time in excess of the specified number of hours.² An amendment of 1929 to the Factory Act enables the Board to fix a wage for any time worked beyond the number of hours established by the factory law. The orders covering factories in Ontario, however, have made no reference to hours of labour. Under the Minimum Wage Acts of these seven provinces³ lower wage-rates are usually specified for inexperienced employees or employees under 18 years of age, and the proportion of young girls among female employees is fixed.

Amendments to the original statutes in Ontario and Quebec raised the minimum age for factory employment, the Ontario Legislature in 1895 establishing 14 as the lowest age at which either boys or girls were to be allowed to work in factories, and Quebec adopting the same standard in 1907. This change in the Ontario factory law brought it into line with the School Attendance Act and followed the recommendations in the Report of the Royal Commission on Capital and Labour in 1889. The evidence given before the Commission on conditions in the cigar and tobacco factories in Quebec led the Legislature of that province at its first session in 1890 to empower the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to prohibit the employment of boys under 14 or girls under 15 in occupations deemed dangerous or unwholesome. At a second session in the same year, however, a statute was enacted directly forbidding the employment of children of these ages in such factories and raising the ages of juveniles who could be prohibited from harmful employment, by order in council under the Act of the previous session, to 16 in the case of boys and 18 in the case of girls. Subsequently, all the other provinces but Alberta gave similar powers to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Legislation regarding juveniles in occupations likely to endanger their health or safety is more fully dealt with in the section of this publication under that heading.⁴

While the Quebec law in 1907 fixed 14 as the minimum age for employment in factories, an additional requirement imposed at the same time raised the age, at which many could be lawfully employed, to 16. Young persons under 16, according to this statute, could be employed only if they could read and write or were attending night school. Three years later, the law on this point was amended to permit the employment of children under 16 if they could read and write fluently. Finally, in 1919 in order to ensure better enforcement of the educational standard, it was provided that children under 16 who were working in industrial establishments must be able to read and write fluently and to produce a certificate of study in proper form but the inspector may permit boys and girls under this age to be employed if they attend night school. Parents and guardians are required to have the certificates of study, and also the certificates of age, verified by the factory inspector, wherever it is possible to do so, before any child under 16 enters factory employment.

In Ontario, from 1895 to 1921, 14 years was the school-leaving age and also the minimum age for employment in factories. A provision of the Adolescent School Attendance Act of 1919, which came into force in September, 1921, required attendance at school up to 16 years of age unless matriculation or similar standing had been attained but the attendance officer was given power to issue work permits to any between 14 and 16 years of age who had to provide for their own maintenance or that of others. The employment of a juvenile under 16 in a factory during school hours was prohibited by an amendment to the Factory Act, unless he furnished an employment certificate from the school attendance officer.

When the statutes of Ontario were revised in 1927, the section of the Factory, Shop and Office Building Act which prohibited the employment in factories of children under 14 years of age was omitted, inadvertently, but this was remedied in 1929 and the provision

¹ Pp. 117-118.

² Minimum Wage Commission of Quebec was given this authority by statute of 1930.

³ Board was appointed in Nova Scotia in March, 1930, and no orders have yet been issued. The New Brunswick Minimum Wage Act, 1930, is to come into force on proclamation.

⁴ See pp. 119-121.

re-inserted. In 1895 when 14 was adopted as the minimum age for both boys and girls, employment in canneries was specifically exempted from this restriction and those sections of the Act which limited the hours of labour of young persons in factories and safeguarded them in the operation of machinery included children among the persons so protected, a "child" being defined as a person under 14 and, in accordance with the statute prior to 1913, only to be employed in connection with the fruit and vegetable industry. A "child" was not within the scope of the section enabling the factory inspector to grant exemption from the normal hours. In 1913, the Shops Regulation Act, which permitted children of 12 years and over to work in shops, was consolidated with the Factory Act to form the Factory, Shop and Office Building Act. The exemption accorded to canneries was removed in 1918 and from that time until 1921, the word "child" in the sections referred to applied only to children between 12 and 14 who were employed in retail shops or in office buildings. A statute of 1921 prohibited the employment of children under 14 in shops.

The Manitoba Act of 1901 prohibited factory employment under 16 years of age but this advance over the standard set in the Ontario and Quebec laws appears not to have been well considered for the same statute gave authority to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to forbid employment in occupations deemed dangerous or unwholesome to boys under 16 and girls under 18. Thus in one clause employment under 16 was directly prohibited and in another regulations prohibiting such employment were authorized. In 1904, this anomaly was removed and the ages at which children could be employed were fixed at 14 for boys and 15 for girls. The statute of 1901 was amended, also, to increase the number of hours allowed to young persons. At the present time, the Factory Act of Manitoba limits to nine hours a day and 54 hours a week the working time for girls under 18 and boys under 17. The clause empowering the Provincial Bureau of Labour to permit longer hours on not more than 36 days does not apply to boys and girls under 17. The Minimum Wage Board, however, has issued orders governing the hours of labour of female employees in certain classes of factories in the cities of Manitoba. In accordance with these regulations, girls and women cannot be employed in the factories covered by the orders for longer than nine hours a day or 48, or in some cases, 50, hours a week, except with the permission of the Bureau of Labour. No overtime is permitted for girls under 17 and no girl under 17 may be employed in rag factories, brick yards or in casual or seasonal employment.

In 1908, British Columbia followed the example of Manitoba in prohibiting factory employment of boys under 14 and girls under 15, but the British Columbia law did not apply to the fish-canning, fish-curing and fruit-packing industries. In 1915, the age of boys eligible for employment in industrial establishments of this province was raised to 15 and at the legislative session of 1926-27 the specific exemption granted to the fish and fruit industries was removed, but the factory inspector was empowered to permit children under 15 to be employed for not more than six hours in the day. No industries likely to require such help are specified in the Act, but permits have been granted only for fruit-picking. Working hours of all girls employed in factories, outside of the fish and fruit industries during the busy season, were limited under the 1908 Act to eight a day and 48 a week, unless the inspector permitted the nine-hour day and 54-hour week, the statute empowered him to allow on not more than 36 days. The amendment of 1926-27, however, provides that the limitations imposed by the Act of 1908 on the hours of labour of girls under 18 in factories in British Columbia shall not be binding on employers in the fish and fruit industries at the height of the season if such girls or their parents or guardians give written consent to overtime work. Working hours in factories in British Columbia are affected by the Hours of Work Act, 1923, which came into force on January 1, 1925, and which provides for an eight-hour day and 48-hour week for all employees in the mines, factories and other industrial undertakings of British Columbia with certain exceptions in the case of continuous industries, or in the event of urgent requirements or accidents, and excluding all branches of the agricultural, horticultural and dairying industries. A somewhat similar statute had been enacted in 1921 as a step towards the ratification of the convention on the eight-hour day adopted by the International Labour Conference at Washington in 1919 but it was stipulated that the Act was not to come into force until such time as similar legislation should be passed by the legislatures of the other provinces.

In 1909, the Saskatchewan Legislature prohibited the employment in factories of children under 14, but the minimum age for girls was raised in 1920 to 15. The first factory law provided for an eight-hour day and 45-hour week for boys under 16 and girls under 18. These hours were increased to nine in the day and 54 in the week at the session of 1910-11. The

Legislature of 1919-20 amended this provision. No restriction was placed on the hours per day of these young workers, but weekly hours of labour under normal conditions were limited to 48. No change was made in the section of the original Act empowering the inspector to permit the normal working hours of these employees to be extended up to a maximum of 12½ hours a day and 72½ hours a week on not more than 36 days under the same circumstances as are specified in all the provincial laws, but that of Alberta. The orders of the Minimum Wage Board covering the factory employment of girls and women in the cities of Saskatchewan specify the same number of hours of labour as the Factories Act.

The Legislature of Alberta established 15 years as the minimum age for work in factories in the first factory law of that province in 1917. The working hours of all factory employees, under the revised Act of 1926, are restricted to nine in the day and 54 in the week but the inspector may allow these to be exceeded "for reasons of occupation, trade, accident or other necessity." These limitations on hours do not apply to employment in repair shops, dairy factories, grain elevators, or saw-mills in towns of less than 5,000.¹ Under the authority of this statute, a commission was appointed to consider the advisability of establishing a 48-hour week for factories, shops and offices in the province. The majority of the commissioners reported in February, 1927, against the adoption of a statutory eight-hour day or 48-hour week in Alberta, partly, on account of the seasonal nature of many of the more important industries which are closely connected with agriculture and, partly, on account of the absence of such legislation in other provinces. The minority report in favour of an eight-hour law made special mention of the exemption from certain provisions of the Factories Act accorded to repair shops, dairy factories, saw-mills and grain elevators in small towns. The working hours of girls and women in factories in the towns in Alberta to which the Minimum Wage Act applies are limited further, however, by an order of the Minimum Wage Board of that province which became effective in August, 1925, and which applies to 12 towns in the province. The hours per day, under this order, may not exceed nine nor the weekly hours 48, but the board is empowered to permit longer hours temporarily.

Before factory legislation had been enacted in the three western provinces of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Alberta, however, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had statutes regulating employment in factories. In 1901, the Nova Scotia Legislature prohibited children under 14 being employed in industrial establishments, but work in connection with the canning or desiccating of fruits and vegetables from July to October was exempted from this restriction as it was in Ontario at that time. The history of the law regarding child labour in the canning industry is outlined in the section of this publication on that industry but an attempt to bring employment in connection with the canning and desiccating of fruits and vegetables within the scope of the Nova Scotia Factory Act resulted in a curious anomaly in the present law of that province with regard to the limitations on hours of labour. An Act of 1909 repealed the clause of the Factory Act of 1901 limiting to ten a day and 60 a week the working hours of children under 14, who could be employed only in connection with canneries, and of girls under 18 in other factories. The new statute restricted the hours of labour of children under 14 in the fruit and vegetable industry and of juveniles under 16 in other manufacturing industries to eight on five days a week and to four on Saturday. Girls over 16 and women were not to be employed in factories under normal conditions for more than nine hours a day, but the inspector could permit the longer hours specified in the Act of 1901, the section of that statute providing for such exemption not being repealed. In 1910, the clause in the 1909 Act limiting the hours of women in factories was repealed. When the Children's Protection Act of 1912 was passed, it re-enacted section one of the statute of 1909 which regulated the hours of children in shops. A note at the end of the statute of 1912 reads:—

"For the provisions as to hours of labour of children in factories, see the Nova Scotia Factories Act, 1901, Acts of 1909 (c. 36), Acts of 1910 (c. 17)."

But Schedule 1 of the Act of 1912 repeals the whole of chapter 36 of the statutes of 1909, thus repealing the section dealing with the hours of children under 16 in the canning industry and of girls under 18 in other factories. The section of the 1901 Act limiting hours of girls under 18 which was repealed by the 1909 Act was not re-enacted. As a result of these changes, the Factories Act places no specific limitation on the working hours of children in canneries or of young girls or women in any factories under normal conditions, but the statute pro-

¹Towns in Alberta with population exceeding 5,000 are Edmonton, Calgary, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge.

vides that in case of accident or occurrence beyond the control of the employer or where the custom or exigency of the trade requires it, the factory inspector may permit the employment of young girls or women up to 12½ hours a day and 72½ a week on not more than 36 days, the hours of labour to fall between 6 a.m. and 9 p.m. as in the original statute of 1901. This anomaly was not removed by the Revised Statutes, 1923, Schedule, Part I, of which lists the Act of 1909 among the enactments repealed by the Revised Statutes.

A minimum wage law was enacted by the Nova Scotia Legislature in 1920 and proclaimed in force in May, 1924. The Act was amended at the same time to provide for the establishment of maximum hours of labour for girls and women employed in any trade or occupation in Nova Scotia. A Board to administer the Act was appointed in March, 1930.

A factory Bill was introduced in the New Brunswick Legislature in 1904. There was considerable opposition to it and the Government appointed a commission to report on the need for factory legislation. The Bill drafted by this commission followed the lines of the Nova Scotia Act of 1901 and the contemporary law in Ontario but gave no preferential treatment to the canning industry. The minimum age for employment was to be 14. Hours of labour of young persons were to be limited to ten a day and 60 a week, the inspector being empowered to permit exemption under the same circumstances as in Nova Scotia and Ontario on not more than 36 days. Objections raised to the proposed measure caused the Bill to be revised by the legislature. As the Act was finally passed, lobster, fish and fruit canneries outside cities and towns were excluded from its provisions. The factory inspector was authorized to permit the employment of children under 14 in factories at his discretion and to grant exemption from the ten-hour day and 60-hour week established for girls under 18 under normal conditions up to 13½ hours a day and 81 hours a week for not more than 36 days. No change has been made in the sections of the New Brunswick statute limiting hours of labour and boys are not within their scope as in the factory laws of the other provinces with the exception of Nova Scotia and British Columbia.¹ The revised New Brunswick Factory Act, 1919, declared the Act not to apply to fish and fruit-canning establishments in the province. The section prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years of age was omitted although the definition of the word "child" as a person under 14 years of age was retained. In a section enabling the Workmen's Compensation Board, instead of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council as in the earlier statute, to prohibit the employment of boys and girls in occupations deemed dangerous or unwholesome, the age of boys was lowered from 16, as in the 1905 Act and as in the laws of the other provinces, to 14. A new provision makes the employer individually liable for compensation in case of an accident to a boy under 14 or a girl under 16. Under the system of workmen's compensation in operation in New Brunswick, compensation for accidents is ordinarily payable from a provincial fund made up by assessments at a uniform rate on all employers within the same class of industry, rates being adjusted among classes according to the hazard. There is, then, no prohibition of child labour in the factories of New Brunswick under the factory law but certain restrictions may be imposed on such employment under the school attendance law.²

CANNING INDUSTRY

In 1887, Ontario permitted children below the minimum ages laid down in the Act of 1884 to be employed in the gathering and preparation of fruits and vegetables for canning during the three months, July to September. The desiccating of these products was brought within the scope of this section in 1889. Later, by amendments to the Act, October and June were added to the months during which there was no restriction on the ages of the children employed or on the hours of labour, except for the stipulation that work was not to extend beyond 9 p.m. on more than 20 days.

The claim of this industry to special exemption from the regulations regarding child and female labour was based on the perishable nature of the materials and the consequent urgency of the work, with some stress on the fact that part of the operations were carried on out-of-doors. Employment conditions in the canning industry were considered by a committee of the Ontario Legislative Assembly on Child Labour in 1907. The report of the committee states:—

"The regulation of child labour in connection with this occupation is difficult. The character of the industry invites such labour which must, during the canning season, often be performed under great stress and at irregular hours. Its exigencies as to time

¹Hours of boys in factories in British Columbia are limited by Hours of Work Act. See p. 113.

²See p. 101.

10156—8½

practically exhaust the physical endurance of those employed. This condition is recognized under the law as it stands, provision being made for the employment of children without any age limit and for almost any number of hours for five months from June 1 to November 1. The inspectors report that they have seen mothers with whole families from five up, at work; and that it is urgently necessary to bring this industry within the general regulation of the Factories Act, especially as to age limit and restriction of working hours. We have had before us some of the proprietors of canning factories, who are anxious that these special privileges should in the main be continued, and who represent that their business would be seriously handicapped if any change of importance were made in the law. We are of the opinion, however, that their necessities would be fully cared for by forbidding the employment indoors of children under twelve years of age, by restraining children under 14 years from working between the hours of 6.30 p.m. and 6.30 a.m. and by restricting the period during which children may be employed from June 15 to October 1.¹

Following this report certain restrictions were imposed on the use of child labour in this industry in Ontario. Children under twelve could no longer be employed except out-of-doors and children between 12 and 14 were not permitted to work in canneries for more than ten hours a day, and not before seven in the morning, or after 6.30 in the evening. In 1914, the maximum working hours per day were reduced to eight and finally, in 1918 the special exemption granted to the canning industry in the matter of child labour was withdrawn and no children under 14 were allowed to be employed.

In the meantime, however, other provinces had enacted factory legislation. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia, where the fish and fruit and vegetable industries were more extensive than in other provinces, the statutory regulations fixing a minimum age for the employment of children and limiting working hours of young persons and women were declared not to apply to some or all of these industries.

In Nova Scotia, under the Factory Act of 1901, children of any age could be employed during the months from July to October inclusive in the gathering and preparation of fruits and vegetables for canning or desiccating, and there was no statutory limitation of working hours. In 1909, following the enactment of the Ontario statute applying the Factory Act of that province in some measure to the canning industry, Nova Scotia limited the hours of labour of boys and girls under 14 in this industry to eight on five days of the week and to four on Saturday. The Act of 1909 was repealed, however, by Schedule 1 of the Children's Protection Act, 1912, and henceforward there was no restriction on the employment of children in canneries during these four months.

Similar exemption from the requirements of the factory law, as applied to other industries, is enjoyed by the canning industry in New Brunswick. The first Factory Act in that province in 1905 declared no part of the Act to apply to lobster, fish or fruit-canning establishments outside cities or towns and the revised Act of 1919 extended this exemption to all such establishments within the province. In 1928, however, the Governor in Council was empowered to declare lobster, fish and fruit-canneries to be within the scope of the Act, but no proclamation to this effect has been issued up to the present time.

In British Columbia, under the first factory law of 1908, special privileges were accorded the fish-curing, fish-canning and fruit-packing industries during the time of the runs of the various kinds of fish and during the respective fruit seasons. The minimum age laid down by the statute for employment in other factories did not apply to these establishments at such times, nor was there any restriction on the hours of labour. No change was made in the law on this point until the legislative session of 1926-27 when the specific exemption of these industries was done away with, but the inspector was empowered to allow the employment of children under 15, the maximum number of hours for which they could be employed not to exceed six and to be stated in the permit. Although the amendment of 1926-27 does not specifically confine the inspector's authority in granting permits to the fish and fruit industries, this appears to have been the intention and the few permits that have been granted were for fruit-picking during the school vacation.² The amended law provides further that the limitations imposed by the original Act on the working hours of girls under 18 in factories other than canneries shall apply to the fish and fruit industries during the busy season unless written consent to work beyond eight hours a day is given by the girls or their parents or guardians.

¹Pp. 9-10.

²Letter from Deputy Minister of Labour of British Columbia.

COTTON AND WOOLLEN FACTORIES

The factory system had begun to develop in the north of England when the mechanical inventions of the latter part of the eighteenth century enabled for the first time the employment of large numbers of women and children in factories for long hours and, frequently, in unhealthy surroundings. It was the conditions under which women and children were employed in the cotton mills that first induced the British Parliament to enact factory legislation. So it was in Canada. Woollen mills were small with comparatively few employees but the cotton factories afforded plentiful employment to very young children, as well as to young girls and women, and it was the women and children employed in these mills that first impressed Dr. Bergin, member of Parliament for Cornwall, with the need for a law in Canada to prohibit factory work for children below a certain age and to limit the hours of labour for young persons and women.¹

The report of the commissioners on factory labour appointed by the Dominion Government in 1881, which was referred to on page 107, states that of the 173 children under ten years of age employed in the mills visited in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, 89 were working in cotton factories. Of the 2,259 children under 15, 486 were in cotton factories, and 146 in woollen mills. The Royal Commission on Labour and Capital reported in 1889:—

"In the cotton factories the ordinary hours of labour were from 6.30 a.m. till noon, and from 12.45 till 6.15 p.m.—this for five days in the week. On Saturday the mills close at noon. Sometimes, the afternoon work is continued till 7.15, without stopping for supper, and less frequently the machinery is in continuous operation from 12.45 till 9 p.m., making eight and a quarter hours of uninterrupted work though it is in evidence that operatives are permitted to take a little lunch while the machinery is in motion."²

The putting into operation of the Quebec Factory Act of 1885 and the better enforcement of the Ontario factory and school attendance laws did away with some of these evils. But in 1908, it was again brought out that the conditions under which women and children were employed in cotton manufacture in Quebec called for amelioration. In that year, the frequent disputes resulting in strikes and loss of time in the cotton industry of that province were brought to the attention of the Dominion Government and the Deputy Minister of Labour, now the Right Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King, was appointed a commissioner under the Inquiries Act to investigate conditions in the industry with a view to determining the nature and cause of the disputes. A section of the Commissioner's Report³ deals with the evidence regarding the employment of children and the long hours worked by both women and children in the cotton factories.

Of the "operatives employed in the Quebec cotton mills, 42.3 per cent are females and 26.6 per cent are persons under 18 years of age.. As to the hours of labour of all these two classes it was asserted that in normal times under normal conditions work should begin on week days at 6.15 o'clock in the morning and continue to 12 noon, resume at a quarter to 1, and continue till 6, with the exception of Saturday, when there was work only in the morning. It was stated by many of the witnesses, and the accuracy of the statement was not challenged, that operatives were obliged to be at their places of work a little before the time fixed, though a like practice did not exist in regard to leaving it. This is a work-week of 60 hours and over. . . . A reduction of hours to this maximum (56, or in some cases, 58 in Massachusetts) for similar classes of operatives in Canada would appear to be desirable on both economic and humanitarian grounds, and in this connection it would seem important that the law should leave no doubt as to the total number of hours to be worked in any one day."

It was maintained by the companies, and their opinion was shared by the factory inspector, that a company had the legal right to adjust the working hours on each day so long as the total working time in a week did not exceed 60 hours.

"The maximum working hours in any one day should be definitely stated and the statute should be so worded as to leave no doubt as to its intention.

"In determining what the maximum number of working hours should be, economic considerations alone demand that a full regard should be had for the effects of long and continuous employment whatever its nature upon the constitution of women, and their place in the social economy of a nation. Excessive work bequeaths a legacy of weakness or disability to those who directly or indirectly are affected by it. In the up-

¹See pp. 107-108.

²P. 36.

³Sessional Paper No. 39, 1909.

building of a nation this is a factor which cannot be too constantly kept in mind. Similarly, the employment of children and young persons, whether male or female, cannot be surrounded by too many safeguards. It is distressing to be obliged to record that, though the minimum age at which children can be employed is fixed by the Quebec law at 14 years, several children were brought before the commission from among those working in the mills who admitted that they entered upon employment under the legal age. Some of these children were so immature and ignorant that they were unable to tell the year of their birth or their age. One little girl did not know the meaning of the word 'holiday', and when it had been explained to her, stated that the only holidays she had known were Christmas and Epiphany. She had never received a week's vacation. One or two of the children admitted that they knew their parents had made false declarations as to age, and that they had been told by their parents to say what was untrue, when questioned on the point. There can be no two views as to the attitude which should be assumed towards such a condition nor as to the kind of legislation which it demands. The employment in factories of children under 14 years of age should be made absolutely impossible, and a law no less imperative requiring their attendance at school between the ages of 10 and 14 years should be enacted. . . . If Canada is to have a hardy and intelligent body of producers on which primarily her industrial position among the nations of the world will depend, she cannot view with too much caution all those factors which go to the making of a nation's manhood, and of these none are of like importance to the health and well-being of the mother and child. Opportunity for rest and recreation is the least that society can secure to those who are helping to carry the industrial burden, and this demands a limitation of the total hours of labour by day or week, an absolute prohibition of overtime, and a period of vacation in every year."

Following the publication of this report, the Quebec Legislature adopted in 1910 its recommendations concerning the working hours of young persons and women in textile factories. No boys under 18 and no girls were to be employed in cotton or woollen mills for more than ten hours a day unless to provide for a shorter work-day on Saturday, in which case the hours of labour on five days could be extended to not more than 10½. Weekly hours were reduced to 58 per week. Two years later, a maximum of 55 hours a week was established for these employees.

None of the other legislatures has made special provision for the employees in textile factories.¹ In 1902, the factory inspector for the central Ontario district referred to the employment of girls of fourteen years of age and over in the textile mills of Ontario in his annual report:

"It appears to me the lives and health of the future women of this country, whom present conditions compel to adopt factory life, would be greatly improved by raising the limit to which they could be employed in factories to sixteen years of age. . . . This appears to me all the more necessary when we consider the condition of factories in which most of our young girls are employed. For instance, take the cotton and woollen mills throughout the province. They have one uniform condition, whereby all employees go to work at 6.30 a.m., working until 6.30 p.m., with an intermission of one hour at noon for meals.² This is continued for five days in the week, and on Saturdays a half day is worked, so that on the whole the law in its present form is complied with, but at the same time we find these girls of tender years working not only ten, but eleven hours per day, in a land where stalwart men are clamoring for eight hours per day. I have been told this was done to give the poor girls a half-holiday on Saturday. I have also been told it was done so as to give the manufacturer an opportunity to make necessary weekly repairs on machinery; but, from whatever cause, it appeals to me as not being in the best interest of future womanhood."

BAKERIES AND BAKE-SHOPS

The Factory Acts of Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan specifically include bakeries among the establishments covered by the statute and the restrictions imposed on the employment of children in bake-shops are identical with those governing their work in factories.

In Manitoba, bakeries appear to be within the scope of the Factory Act but there is, also, a Bake-Shop Act (C.A., 1924, c. 15) which prohibits the employment of children under 14 in bake-shops except with the permission of the inspector. The hours of labour of all employees are limited to 12 in one day or 60 in a week.

The Shops Regulation Act of British Columbia prohibits the employment of children under 14 in bake-shops and limits the working hours of all employees to 12 in a day or 60

¹See section on textile manufactures, pp. 42-46.

²For hours in textile factories at present time, see pp. 44-45.

In the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, employment in bake-shops is not governed by statute, but large bakeries would come within the Factory Acts in all provinces.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

In the Ontario and Quebec statutes of 1884 and 1885, general regulations were laid down for the keeping of factories in a cleanly state, free from effluvia, fumes, gases and dusts and with no overcrowding. Dangerous machinery and openings were to have guards. Similar regulations were embodied in the factory legislation of the other provinces and such provisions have been elaborated from time to time. The provincial Public Health Acts give authority to the Lieutenant-Governors in Council to issue any regulations deemed necessary for the keeping of factories in a proper sanitary condition.

Certain special provisions have been made in all the provincial factory laws for the health and safety of young workers. In the Ontario law it was provided that no child under 14 was to clean any part of the machinery while it was in motion, nor was a young girl or woman to be permitted to clean such part of the machinery as is mill-gearing, while it was in motion. No child or young girl was to work between the fixed and traversing part of any self-acting machine. These sections of the Ontario law, copied from the British Factory Act, were reproduced in the laws of all the provinces and, except in the province of Quebec, are still in operation with some modifications and amendments raising the protected ages of boys and girls. In Alberta, the Act prohibits any person cleaning machinery while it is in motion and in Quebec, under the regulations issued under the Industrial Establishments Act, this work can be done only when authorized by the foreman. In British Columbia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, no girl under 18 years of age may clean any part of the machinery in a factory while it is in motion. Such part of the machinery as is mill-gearing may not be cleaned while in motion by any employee in New Brunswick or by any girl or woman in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia or Saskatchewan, or by any child under 16 or by any girl or woman in Ontario. In British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Saskatchewan, no girl under 18 may work between the fixed and traversing parts of any self-acting machine.

In factories in which certain processes are carried on there is a special danger to young persons either through their greater liability to accident or their weaker resistance to noxious substances. The effect of their employment on the boys and girls working in the cigar and tobacco factories in the province of Quebec was stressed in the report of the Commission on Labour and Capital in 1889:—

"The testimony respecting children employed in the cigar and tobacco factories was of a very painful nature. The evil in these instances was accentuated by the evident fact that the tobacco had stunted the growth of the witnesses and poisoned their blood."¹

The Quebec Legislature took immediate action. At the first session in 1890, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council was empowered to prohibit the employment of boys under 14 and girls under 15 in occupations deemed dangerous or unwholesome. Later in the same year, the Act was again amended to prohibit directly the employment of children under these ages in factories producing cigars and tobacco and to permit the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to forbid boys under 16 and girls under 18 working in dangerous or unwholesome occupations. Under the authority of this section, a list of occupations was issued in which employment was prohibited to boys and girls under 16 and 18 respectively, on the ground of danger from accidents or fire or from injurious fumes, gases, odors, or dusts.² In 1894, the clause for-

¹Page 36.

²List in force in 1929 follows:—

¹Page 36.
²List in force in 1929 follows:—
 "Abattoirs; Acid muriatic; Acid nitric; Acid sulphuric; Acid oxalic; Asphalt (preparation of); Arsenic (white); Baking powder (boxing of); Bakeries (rolling of dough); Biscuits (rolling of dough); Benzine (storage and manipulation of); Beating of carpets on a large scale; Beating and cleaning of works; Cartridges (working at loading machines); Cutlery (grinding and turning of stones); Caps and detonators; Canning of foods (soldering of boxes); Can manufacturing (soldering of boxes); Cement (crushing and barrelling of); Crushing of lime, plaster and stone; Cleaning of iron, brass or zinc with acids; Crystal (dry polishing of); Confectionery (machines for rolling candy); Dry polishing of iron, brass or horn; Drugs (mechanical pounding of); Fishing of); Confectionery (machines for rolling candy); Dynamometers (supervision of); Felt (tarring of); Flesh and refuse from abattoirs; Gas (making or handling of); Dynamos (supervision of); Flaming of horses and other animals; Gas for public use; Glue; Hats, Hots, elevators (running of); Iron (galvanizing of); Laundry (ironing machines); Matches (mixing and dipping departments); Mirrors (platemaking); Marble (sawing and polishing of); Nails (grinding tools and turning stones); Oil cloth; Oils (storing and making of); Oxide of iron (handling and barrelling); Paint (boxing and canning of); Paris green (boxing of); Powder (making and manipulating); Rags (sorting and manipulation of); Rags (cutting and grinding, gannetting of); Rubber works (varnishing department); Sags (holding and manipulation of); Shoe factories (polishing, sand papering on machines); Skins (dyeing of); Skins ment); Sand papering wood (by machinery); Smelting and rolling of iron, brass, lead, zinc; Stamping of sheet metal (working and leather (preparation and glossing of); Tinning of iron pipes and wooden blocks); Tinning of sheet iron utensils; Tinning of wire; the presses); Tallow (boiling); Tar (dipping of iron pipes and wooden blocks); Tinning of sheet iron utensils; Tinning of wire; Varnishing metal dried in ovens; White lead; Wire (making and drawing); Wood (working on edge tool machines)."

bidding the employment of boys and girls in cigar and tobacco factories was repealed and such occupations were not added to the list issued under the dangerous trades clause.

Authority to declare certain occupations unlawful for boys under 16 and girls under 18 was given to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council in Ontario in 1895. The factory Acts of Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia give similar powers to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council with regard to boys and girls of these ages. In New Brunswick, a change made by the revised Factory Act, 1919, reduced the age of the boys to whom such protection may be granted from 16 to 14 years. In none of these provinces has action been taken under the authority of this section, and it was probably on this account that the Legislature of Alberta, enacting the first factory law in 1917, did not give this power to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The report of the Committee on Child Labour of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario in 1907 contains the following paragraph:—

“The Factories Act permits the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to specify occupations dangerous to children. This authority has never been exercised. The factory inspectors have placed in our hands a list of these occupations upon which they desire that action should be taken. Dangerous occupations may be divided into two classes, those dangerous to life and limb, and those involving processes dangerous to health. Statistics show that boys in factories have a probability of accident twice that of the adult and this is borne out by the factory inspectors' records. In connection with high-speed automatic machines, including metal stamping and wood-working machines, accidents to boys such as loss of fingers and thumbs, are very frequent. Other occupations coming within this category include the manufacture of explosives, work in mines, etc.”

The Ontario Act of 1884 contained the following section:—

“6. To employ in a factory any child or young girl or woman shall be deemed to be not lawful and so that the health of such child, young girl or woman is likely to be permanently injured if in that factory there is a contravention of the following provisions of this section”

Then followed four subsections forbidding the employment of boys under 12 and girls under 14 years of age, requiring certificates of age for children under 14, fixing the maximum hours of labour for children, young girls and women and stipulating that not less than one hour be allowed these workers for the noon meal. There was a similar provision in the Quebec statute of 1885, followed by the first two subsections of the Ontario Act.

From this provision, the different provinces have developed a broader requirement. The Saskatchewan Act stipulates that it shall not be lawful to employ any youth, young girl or woman, so that the health of such employee is likely to be permanently injured. The application of this section is stated not to be restricted to regulations laid down in other sections of this Act. A similar provision is contained in the statutes of Nova Scotia, British Columbia and Manitoba, but its general application is not expressly stated. In New Brunswick the same provision is definitely restricted to the clauses limiting hours of labour of girls and women and providing for time for a noon meal for these employees. The factory laws of British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan provide further that no person shall keep a factory so that the safety of any person shall be endangered or the health of any person likely to be permanently injured. The word “permanently” is omitted from a similar section in the Alberta and Ontario statutes.

The general stipulation, enacted first in the factory legislation of the eighties, that no person shall be employed so that his health is likely to be injured appears to give wide powers to the factory inspectors to restrict the employment of juveniles to occupations involving no particular risk to youthful workers. With the development of new industries, many of which involve the use of poisonous substances and the processes of which permit the employment of young workers, the enforcement of a provision that no young person shall be employed so that his health is likely to be injured becomes difficult to carry out without scientific knowledge of the materials used and medical examination of the workers concerned.

The first Ontario and Quebec factory laws required that children under 14 must have certificates of age before they could be employed in a factory and provision was made in Quebec for the appointment of “sanitary physicians” to furnish written opinions, in the case of children without parents or legal guardians, that such children were not less than 12 years of age. This scheme was adopted from the British Factory Act, owing to the absence at that time of a law compelling the registration of births. The sanitary physicians were to sign the age-certificates required and were to be assigned duties in connection with the inspection of factories. The Quebec law of 1894 contained a clause providing that the factory inspector might request one of the sanitary physicians appointed under the Act, or

any other physician, to examine any child under 14 or any girl under 18 at work in a factory. Upon the advice of such physician, the employee might be discharged as unfit. This section has been made applicable to boys under 16 and girls under 18, but since the first physicians appointed under the Act died or left the service no others have been appointed and this section of the statute appears to be inoperative.¹

In none of the other provinces, with the exception of Nova Scotia, has any provision been made for the physical examination of juvenile or other employees, but in all but New Brunswick the law authorizes the factory inspector to take with him through any factory a qualified medical practitioner. This section, however, is merely permissive. In the Nova Scotia school attendance law of 1915, it was stipulated that every child of school age who was exempted from school attendance must obtain from a physician, before entering any employment, a certificate of physical fitness for the particular work to be taken up. In 1895 the same province had required local boards of school commissioners to examine into the conditions of employed children at least once a year and to see that the provisions of the Act were being carried out. Both these sections have been retained in the Nova Scotia Education Act, the investigations by school boards now being required at least twice a year. The enforcement of the medical examination before employment is in the hands of local school boards and appears not to be carried out.²

Of recent years, there has been a tendency in some of the provinces to consolidate legislation relating to particular classes of children and to place its administration in the hands of persons especially qualified for such work. Only a small part of such legislation deals with children in employment but occupations of children outside mines, factories, and shops are governed by laws that have been made part of such consolidations in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In addition to the provisions relating to child labour in public places and on the streets, which are taken up elsewhere in this bulletin, the Child Welfare Acts of Manitoba and Alberta prohibit the employment of children under 16 in any occupation likely to be injurious to life, limbs, health, education or morals. The Manitoba statute was enacted first in 1922 and came into force on September 1, 1924. The Alberta Act of 1925 has not been brought into operation.

SHOPS

Tables G and H show the minimum ages and maximum hours of labour for the employment of juveniles in shops in Canada. Table I outlines the chronological development of the legislation establishing these standards.

TABLE G.—Minimum Ages for Employment in Shops in Canada, 1929

New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Mani.oba	Alberta
School Attendance Act provides for local option in compulsory school attendance. Where adopted, no person under 16 may be employed in city or town unless has passed Grade 7 or attends school 6 months, and no child under 13 may be employed. ³	16, unless able to read and write fluently or attending night school.	14; 16 in school hours unless with permit.	14, except for boys over 13 for 2 hours on school days or 8 hours on holidays or for children under 14 with school certificate and permit from Bureau of Labour.	15, in towns of over 5,000 population.

¹Survey, Public Health Activities, Montreal, October, 1928, p. 126. Among the subjects to be studied by the Quebec Social Insurance Commission appointed in 1930 are the medical examination of factory workers and the inspection of hazardous occupations.

²Based on information received from local boards in several cities and towns of Nova Scotia.

³See pp. 101.

TABLE H.—Maximum Hours of Labour for Juveniles in Shops in Canada, 1929

Nova Scotia	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Girls under 16, boys under 14, 8-hr. day, 4-hr. day on Saturday.	Girls over 14, boys over 14 and under 18, 10-hr. day, 60-hr. week. Up to 6 p.m., unless with permit. On Saturday before holiday and Dec. 14-24, 7 a.m.-10 p.m.	Boys or girls under 14 exempt from school attendance, for 8-hr. day and 48 hr.-week. Boys over 13 and under 14, 2 hrs. school days, 8 hrs. holidays, 48-hr. week. Girls over 14 and under 18, boys over 14 and under 17, 14-hr. day, 60-hr. week; out-of-doors for 66-hr. week. Under 18, before holiday and Dec. 14-24, 8 a.m.-10 p.m. Emergencies, inspector may permit child over 16, 70-hr. week. Minimum Wage Orders, applying to girls only, fix 8½-hr. day, 11½ hr. Saturday, 49-hr. week with weekly half-holiday except in December. In department and 5-and-10-cent stores 9-hr. day, and 48-hr. week. Shops open in evenings and Sundays 50-hr. week with weekly holiday. Weekly half-holiday for 5-and-10-cent except in Dec. and for department stores June-August.	Minimum Wage Order, applying to girls only, fixes 49-hr. week in three largest cities; 51-hr. week in small cities. Over-time on permit to 56 hrs. except Dec. 15-31 when 59 hours is allowed.	All employees, 9-hr. day, 54-hr. week, except with permit from inspector, in towns over 5,000 population. Minimum Wage Order, applying to girls only, fixes a 9-hr. day, 10½-hr. Saturday, 52-hr. week. Temporary increase on permit.	Under 16, 11-hr. day unless for shorter day on one day of week, 13-hr. Saturday, 66½-hr. week. Minimum Wage Order, applying to girls only, fixes 48-hr. week.

The employment of juveniles in shops is affected in Canada by three classes of provincial legislation: permissive laws enabling municipalities to pass by-laws providing for the closing of shops within their jurisdiction at a specified hour, mandatory laws regulating the conditions of employment and, finally, laws conferring on a provincial board power to establish minimum rates of wages, maximum hours of labour and certain other standard conditions for female employees. Only in the second of these classes, is the employment of juveniles specifically regulated but early closing by-laws and orders of Minimum Wage Boards have modified the provisions of the Shops Regulation Acts affecting juveniles.

Laws have been enacted by all the provincial legislatures giving to municipal councils power to pass by-laws requiring the closing of shops at a specified hour on any or every day of the week and, also, by-laws providing for a weekly half-holiday. Under all of these statutes, the municipal council is required to adopt such by-laws on the petition of at least three-fourths or two-thirds of the number of shopkeepers concerned. In New Brunswick a by-law may be passed only after such a petition has been presented. Such shops as those selling refreshments, tobacco, fruit, confectionery and newspapers are excluded from the early closing laws and druggists or others are permitted to sell drugs or necessities for sick persons. No definite information is available regarding the extent to which such by-laws have been adopted but, in general, retail stores in cities and towns in Canada are closed not later than six o'clock in the evening, grocers' stores frequently remaining open for an hour or so later. In villages,

TABLE 1—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF STATUTORY MINIMUM AGES AND MAXIMUM HOURS OF LABOUR OF JUVENILES IN SHOPS IN CANADA

NOVA SCOTIA	NEW BRUNSWICK	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MANITOBA	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA	BRITISH COLUMBIA
1902, c. 17 (Shops) No boy under 14 or girl under 16 for more than 12 hours a week-school attendance by-law—no child under 14 hours on Saturday or 12 on any other day unless for shorter Sabbath-day. Drivers excluded.	1906, c. 13 (School) In cities and towns having compulsory attendance read and write fluently or attends night school. R.S. 1925, c. 182 (Industrial Establishments) Re-enacts as above.	1910, c. 50 (Industrial Establishments) 16, in any trade or business unless can read and write fluently or attends night school. R.S. 1925, c. 182 (Industrial Establishments) Re-enacts as above.	1888, c. 33 (Shops) No boy under 14 or girl under 16 for more than 14 hours a week, 14 hours on Saturday or 12 on any other day, unless for shorter Saturday. Drivers excluded. 1897, c. 51 (Shops) 10, boys and girls. No boy under 14, no girl, 6 p.m.-7 a.m. on any day but Saturday or preceding holiday or Dec. 14-24. On such day, not after 10 p.m. Inspection provided for. 1908, c. 58 (Shops) 12, boys and girls. No children in school hours except with permit. 1913, c. 60 (Factory, Shop and Office Building) No boy under 16 or girls under 18 for more than 10 hours a day, unless for short Saturday, or 60 a week or after 6 p.m. Exceptions as in 1907, c. 54. 1921, c. 75 (Factory, Shop and Office Building) 14, boys and girls; 16, in school hours except under exemptions allowed by Adolescent School Attendance Act. R.S. 1927, c. 275 (Factory, Shop and Office Building) Re-enacts as in 1913, c. 60; 1921, c. 75.	1888, c. 42 (Shops) No boy under 14 or girl under 16 for more than 14 hours a week, 14 hours on Saturday or 12 on any other day, unless for shorter Saturday. Drivers excluded. 1915, c. 160 (Shops) 14, boys and girls, except with permit for not more than 8 hours a day or 48 a week. Boys of 13 for not more than 2 hours on school days and 8 above, 50-hr. week. 1916, c. 160 (Shops) Minimum Wage Order. All girls and women in shops in three largest cities, 49-hr. week; in 5-week, and 9-hour towns, a 51-hour week with possible extension to 56 hours on Dec. 15-31. 1917, c. 84 (Shops) "Shop" includes premises used in connection with messenger service. Permits for longer hours than 14 a day or 60 a week only to those over 16. 1918 Minimum Wage Order All girls and women in department stores: on 54-hour day, 50-hour week, Saturday half-holiday in June, July and August. In 5-10-and-15-cent stores, a 9-hour day except on Saturday when maximum 11½ hours and 48-hour week except in December when maximum 53 hours. Weekly half-holiday except in December. Standard retail stores, 54-hour day except Saturday when maximum 11½ hours, 49-hour week except December when maximum 54 hours. Weekly half-holiday except in December. Shops or stores commonly open in evenings or on Sundays or both 50 hours per week. One free day per week. C. A. 1924, s. 130 (Shops) Consolidates 1916, c. 100 and 1917, c. 84. 1924 Minimum Wage Order All girls and women in departmental stores and mail order houses, including manufacturing departments, 9-hour day, 48-hour week. Saturday half-holiday in June, July and August.	1925 Minimum Wage Order. All girls and women in shops in three largest cities, 51-hr. week. 1926 Minimum Wage Order, applies as above, 50-hr. week. 1928 Minimum Wage Order. All girls and women in shops in three largest cities, 49-hr. week; in 5-week, and 9-hour towns, a 51-hour week with possible extension to 56 hours on Dec. 15-31. 1926, c. 52 (1 in 1924) Repeals 1917, c. 20 and 1918, c. 32. 15, boys and girls in towns over 5,000. All employees 9-hr. day and 54-hr. week in towns over 5,000 except with permit.	1917, c. 20 (Factories) 15, boys and girls in towns of over more than 650 hours a week or 15 hours on Saturday or 11 on any other day unless for shorter day once a week. 1918, c. 32 (Factories) No girls 11 p.m.-7 a.m. except with permit. 1915 Minimum Wage Order Girls and women in shops, 53-hour day, 50-hour week, and 9-hour towns, a 51-hour week with possible extension to 56 hours on Dec. 15-31. 1926, c. 52 (1 in 1924) Repeals 1917, c. 20 and 1918, c. 32. 15, boys and girls in towns over 5,000. All employees 9-hr. day and 54-hr. week in towns over 5,000 except with permit.	1909, c. 34 (Shops) No child under 16 for more than 6½ hours a week or 15 hours on Saturday or 11 on any other day unless for shorter day once a week. 1912, c. 40 (Shops) Inspection provided for. 1916, c. 75 (Weekly Half-holiday) Weekly half-holiday for all shop employees. R.S. 1924, cc. 232, 273. (Shops, Weekly Half-holiday) Re-enacts as above. 1928, Minimum Wage Order. Girls and women in shops, 48-hour week.

the closing hour may be as late as seven o'clock and shops are usually open till a later hour on Saturday evenings. A weekly half-holiday is common during the summer months through agreement among the shopkeepers rather than by by-law.

Not all the provincial legislatures have enacted mandatory laws respecting employment in shops. There is no law directly governing labour conditions in shops in Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick or Quebec or in the Yukon Territory. The employment of juveniles in shops in New Brunswick is affected by a clause in the school attendance law and in Quebec by a provision of the Industrial Establishments Act. The section of the New Brunswick School Attendance Act prohibiting the employment of children in cities and towns where attendance at school is compulsory applies equally to shops and factories and is discussed in the section of this publication on school attendance.¹ The Quebec Industrial Establishments Act has prohibited since 1919 the employment in any trade or business of any child under 16 who cannot read and write fluently unless he is attending night school. Girls working in retail stores in cities in Saskatchewan are within the scope of the Minimum Wage Act of that province. In Ontario and Manitoba, employment in mercantile establishments was first regulated by statute in 1888, in Nova Scotia in 1895 and in British Columbia in 1900.

In Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan,² regulations issued by the respective Minimum Wage Boards fix minimum wages for all girls and women employed in the retail stores within the scope of the Act. Lower rates are usually established for inexperienced workers or girls under 18.³ The limitations on hours of labour under the Minimum Wage Board Orders are outlined below in connection with the provisions of the various Shops Acts regarding working hours.

Attention was drawn to the long hours worked by employees in retail shops in the evidence submitted to the Royal Commission on Capital and Labour during the years 1887-1889. The report of the Commissioners contains the following comment:—

"The best retail shops of dry goods merchants in all cities are open only from 8 o'clock a.m. till 6 o'clock p.m.; but in many others the hours are very long, both for clerks and for other employees. At some shops in Montreal the clerks are employed from 5.30 a.m. till 10 or even 11 o'clock at night. Dressmakers and milliners are kept, during busy seasons, till even later hours. In October, November and December they are, in some places, kept at work from 8 in the morning till midnight, and on Saturday nights till far into the hours of Sunday morning. Children in the millinery rooms are at work from 6 in the morning till 9 at night, with brief intervals for meals. While it is very much to be regretted that attention must be called to these discreditable facts, there are many instances in which the hours of labour have been shortened. In a number of trades nine hours constitute a working day; and such change as can be observed is in the direction of shorter hours. Many employers give their hands an hour or two on Saturday, and not a few close on Saturday at noon."⁴

Before the report was published, however, the legislatures of both Ontario and Manitoba had taken the first step to regulate employment in mercantile businesses. By statutes of 1888 the hours of labour in shops of boys under 14 and girls under 16 were not to exceed 74, including meal times, the hours on Saturdays not to be more than 14, and on each of the other five days not to exceed 12, unless another arrangement were made to provide for a short working-day on Saturday. Persons employed as drivers delivering parcels from shops were excluded from this provision. No minimum age was fixed by either of these statutes.

The first law in Canada establishing a minimum age for employment in shops was an Ontario enactment of 1897 which prohibited such employment for children under ten years of age. The same statute forbade the employment of boys under 14 and of girls or women in or about a shop before seven in the morning or after six in the evening, except on Saturday or one other week-day and on the day before a holiday. In these cases, work was not to continue after 10 p.m. But none of these limitations was applicable during the Christmas shopping season, from December 14 to December 24 inclusive. The Committee on Child Labour, appointed by the Ontario Legislative Assembly, reported in 1907 that much

¹ See p. 101.

² In Quebec and Nova Scotia, no orders have been issued governing retail shops. The New Brunswick Legislature in 1930 enacted a Minimum Wage Act to come into force on proclamation.

³ Wages and Hours of Labour in Canada, 1920 to 1929. Department of Labour, Ottawa.

⁴ P. 37.

confusion had arisen from the fact that the Shops Act permitted children as young as ten years of age to be employed in shops, whereas the Factories Act placed the age limit at 14 years. The further comment was made:—

“Apart from the fact that conditions in shops are frequently more injurious than in factories, ten years is far too low an age at which to send a child into the world to fight the battles of life; the child is unprepared mentally, morally or physically for such a contest.”¹

Following this report employment of children under 12 years of age in shops was prohibited in Ontario. In addition, the new statute specifically forbade the employment of children under 14 in school hours unless they were exempted from school attendance by the truancy officer. It was not until 1921 that 14 years was made the minimum age for employment in shops as it had been for factory work since 1895. In the same year children under 16 who were required by the Adolescent School Attendance Act of 1919 to attend school were prohibited from working in shops during school hours except with a permit in accordance with that Act. When the Ontario Shops Regulation Act and the Factories Act were consolidated in 1913 as the Factory, Shop and Office Building Act, the hours of all girls and of boys under 16 in shops were limited, as in factories, to ten a day, unless to arrange for a shorter Saturday, and to 60 a week, the same exemptions being permitted as under the Act of 1897.

In Manitoba, no amendment was made to the law of 1888 regarding children in shops until 1916 when it was prohibited to employ children under 14 in or about shops during school hours except with the permission of the school authorities and of the provincial Bureau of Labour, the officials of which were to satisfy themselves that such employment would not be harmful and was necessary under the circumstances. Such children were not to work more than eight hours a day or 48 a week. Boys of 13 years of age who were attending school could be employed for not more than two hours on school days and eight hours on school holidays. No boys under 17, except drivers of delivery vans, and no girls could be permitted to work in a shop for more than 14 hours in a day or 60 in a week, but, in case of emergency, the inspector could permit hours to be extended to not more than 70 a week. Exemption from the normal hours of labour was permitted, also, on the day before a statutory holiday and during the period from December 14 to December 24 inclusive. By an amendment of 1917, however, only young persons 16 years or over were to be given permission by the inspector to work longer hours than the normal. No further changes have been made in the Shops Regulation Act of Manitoba regarding the ages or hours of young persons but orders have been issued by the Minimum Wage Board fixing minimum rates of wages and maximum hours of labour of female employees in retail stores in the cities of the province. Hours of girls and women in department stores and 5-and-10-cent stores in these cities are limited to nine a day and 48 a week. In the latter establishments, girls have a weekly half-holiday except in December, and in department stores a weekly half-holiday during June, July and August. In other retail stores in cities, working-hours for girls and women are limited to eight and a half a day, eleven and a half on Saturday and 49 in the week, with a weekly half-holiday except during December. Shops that are open in the evening or on Sunday are allowed a 50-hour week with weekly holiday. An order relating to beauty parlours and hair-dressing establishments in 1919 forbade the employment of girls under 18 in these places except with permits, and of girls under 15 in any case. A revised order of 1925 prohibits such employment of girls under 16.

The Nova Scotia statute of 1895 placed the same limitations on the daily working hours in shops of boys under 14 and girls under 16 as the Manitoba and Ontario Acts of 1888 but weekly hours in Nova Scotia were not to exceed 72, except for drivers, instead of 74 as in the other two provinces. Hours of labour of such children were further restricted in 1909 to eight on five days of the week and four on Saturday. These provisions were embodied in the Children's Protection Act of 1912 and no change has been made in them since that time. There is no statutory minimum age for the employment of children in shops in Nova Scotia.

Neither has a minimum age been established for the employment of children in shops in British Columbia and the limitations imposed on the hours of labour of juveniles under 16 employed in these places by the statute of 1900 have not been changed, but under the powers conferred on the Minimum Wage Board by an Act of 1919, an order of the Board issued in 1928, grants to all girls and women employed in the shops of this province a forty-eight hour week. In addition, the Weekly Half-Holiday Act, first enacted in 1916, provides for a weekly half-holiday for all persons employed in retail or wholesale shops in British Columbia.

In Alberta, the minimum age of 15 years established by the Factories Act, 1917, for employment in shops in towns of more than 5,000 people¹ has not been changed. The revised statute of 1926 provided for a nine-hour day and 54-hour week for all persons employed in shops in towns of this size but empowered the inspector to permit longer hours "for reason of occupation, trade, accident or other necessity." By the Minimum Wage Orders of 1925, issued under the Minimum Wage Act of 1925, hours for females employed in shops are limited to 52 a week with a maximum of nine hours a day, except on Saturdays when working hours may be prolonged to not more than 10½ hours. Temporary exemptions from these limitations may be granted by the Board..

The order of the Minimum Wage Board of Saskatchewan governing employment of girls and women in shops in the cities of that province was revised as from September 1, 1928. In the three largest cities, Moose Jaw, Regina and Saskatoon, the hours of employment are limited to 49 in any one week and in North Battleford, Prince Albert, Swift Current, Weyburn and Yorkton, to 51 hours in a week. An extension of hours may be granted up to 56 in a week or to 59 between December 15 and 31.

The earlier statutes regulating employment in shops made no provision for ensuring that the law was carried out, the enforcement being left to the municipalities concerned. The Ontario statute, however, was amended in 1897 to provide for the inspection of shops, and since that date provincial inspectors have inspected shops as well as factories. Similar provision was made for enforcing the British Columbia Shops Regulation Act in 1912 and in Manitoba by the revised Shops Regulation Act of 1916. The Nova Scotia Act makes no provision for the inspection of shops with a view to enforcing the terms of the statutes. The Legislature of Alberta provided in 1917 for the regulation and inspection of shops in towns of over 5,000 population in the same statute as required factory inspection throughout the province.

In these five provinces penalties are provided for contraventions of the law. In Alberta and Ontario, the penalties for illegal employment in shops are the same as for illegal employment in factories, and these are set out in the section of this publication dealing with factories. In Manitoba and Nova Scotia, any person who employs a child contrary to the provision of the Shops Regulations Act is liable to a fine not exceeding \$20 for each person so employed or to imprisonment for one month. A parent whose child is employed in contravention of the Act is liable to the same penalty, unless such employment is without his consent or wilful default. In British Columbia, similar offences are punishable by fines not exceeding \$50 and not less than \$20 for each person employed in contravention of the Act.

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

Under the powers conferred by the Minimum Wage Acts, the Minimum Wage Boards of Manitoba and Saskatchewan have limited the employment of girls in hotels, restaurants and refreshment rooms to that of girls over 16 years of age. In Manitoba, the order applies to all parts of the province, in Saskatchewan it applies only to cities. This restriction was imposed in Manitoba first in 1926. An order of 1919 limited working hours of girls and women in these places to 52 a week with one day or two half-days off a week. The revised order of 1926 reduced the maximum hours to 48. Overtime can be permitted by the Board, but no girl under 17 may work overtime. The Saskatchewan order, issued in September, 1928, prohibits not only the employment of girls under 16 in hotels and restaurants at any time but also forbids girls under 18 working after 8 p.m. Hours are limited in Saskatchewan to a maximum of 50 a week for a six-day week or 56 for a seven-day week with overtime only with the Board's permission. In Quebec no children under 16 may be employed in hotels and restaurants unless they can read and write easily or unless they attend night school. In no case may they be so employed after 8 p.m.

STREET TRADES AND PLACES OF AMUSEMENT

Tables J and K set out in chronological order the provisions of the various provincial enactments dealing with juveniles in streets trades and their employment in places of amusement to which the public are admitted on payment of a fee. These forms of juvenile employment have frequently been regulated by the same statute. It might be noted here that while under the Factories Acts a "child" is a person under 14 or 15 years of age, a "child" under the Children's Protection Acts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Saskatchewan, is a person under the age of 16 years. Under the Child Welfare Acts of Manitoba and Alberta a "child" is one under 18 years.

¹Towns with population exceeding 5,000 in Alberta are Edmonton, Calgary, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge.

Street work has been one of the last forms of juvenile labour to be given attention by those interested in social welfare and by legislators. The school attendance laws were supposed to take care of children of school age during school hours and the occupation of children outside school was of little concern as long as their education was not being obviously interfered with by non-attendance at school. The employment of children in mines, factories and shops presented a more concrete problem and one more readily dealt with, confined as it is to certain definite establishments. Children as newspaper carriers and sellers, peddlers of flowers and small wares, distributors of hand bills, and boot blacks are scattered through the streets, first in one place, then in another, making an appeal to the passers-by, most of whom are likely to see only the presumable need of the child and approve the "independent" spirit urging him or her to take up such work. "There seems to be an appeal in the sight of a small child selling papers, that causes the public to turn its back upon the provisions of the law."¹ This feature of street trading by children is consciously or unconsciously exploited by publishers and news agents and is closely akin to begging. The "tips" received, particularly by the smallest boys, accustom them to receiving something for nothing.

The statutory regulation of juveniles in street trades in Canada has been based on four or five different principles, some legislatures adopting one method of regulation after another as the earlier laws proved ineffective or inadequate. In several provinces all these principles are embodied in the present law; in other provinces only one or two different methods have been adopted. Types of Canadian legislation applicable to children in street-trades may be indicated as (1) laws enabling municipal by-laws for the purpose of regulating child labour in street or places of amusement; (2) laws rendering liable to penalty any person who "causes or procures" a child of specified age to engage in work for profit on the streets, in public places or places of amusement; (3) laws for the apprehension and custody of "neglected" children among whom may be children in street trades; (4) laws prohibiting generally the employment of children in occupations likely to be harmful and (5) laws directly prohibiting children engaging in street trades.

Street work by children is carried on chiefly in cities and the harmful effect of such work, apart from the effect on school attendance, arises largely from the city environment. For this reason, the earliest legislation in Canada affecting street trades applied only to cities and enabled civic authorities to make by-laws preventing children being on the streets at night or restricting street work by children. In leaving the matter of juvenile labour in streets and other public places to municipal regulation, the Canadian legislatures followed the example of the British Parliament. When this method of regulation proved inadequate to cope with the problem in the Old Country, other means were devised and after adoption in Britain were copied by several of provincial legislatures in Canada.

During the eighties, attempts were made by some civic authorities in England to deal with the problem of children in street trades under the authority of the local Acts providing for the incorporation of these cities. In other towns, the authorities tried to regulate street trading by means of by-laws made under the Municipal Corporations Act, which conferred on municipalities general powers to "make such by-laws as to them seem meet for the good rule and government of the borough," but the courts decided that the power to regulate street trading was not within these powers. The attention of those interested in regulating the work of children in city streets was then devoted to promoting legislation which would be applicable throughout the country. The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1889, prescribed penalties for any person who should "cause or procure" any boy under 14 or girl under 16 to be in any street for the purpose of begging whether under the pretence of singing or playing or performing for profit or offering anything for sale or otherwise; or to be in any street or any premises licensed to sell intoxicating liquor other than premises licensed for public entertainment, for the purpose of singing or performing for profit or offering anything for sale between the hours of 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., or any person who should "cause or procure" any child under ten years of age to be at any time in any street or in any premises, licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquor or licensed for public entertainments, or in any circus or other place of public amusement run for profit, for the purpose of singing or performing or offering anything for sale. Local authorities were empowered to vary the hours specified and to grant licences for children over seven to take part in public entertainments. Amendments in 1894 raised the minimum age to eleven years, extended the prohibited hours to 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. and made it an offence to "allow" as well as to "cause or procure" a child to infringe against the restrictions of the law.

¹Clapp and Strong, *The School and the Working Child*. Massachusetts Child Labour Committee, Boston, 1918, p. 41.

TABLE J.—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF STATUTORY MINIMUM AGES OF JUVENILES IN STREET TRADES IN CANADA

TABLE K.—CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LEGISLATION ON JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT IN PLACES OF AMUSEMENT IN CANADA

NEW BRUNSWICK	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MANITOBA	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA	BRITISH COLUMBIA
1930, c. 13 (Children's Protection) Act to come into force on proclamation. A. No child under 14 to be employed in bowling-alley, billiard or pool room. B. No child under 16 to be employed in such places after 10.30 p.m.	1916, c. 27 (Industrial Establishments) A. No child under 15 to perform in theatre or similar place except in aid of charity. 1919, c. 50 (Industrial Establishments) Repeals A. B. No child under 16 unable to read and write fluently to be employed in theatre or similar place. Exception up to 8 p.m. for those attending night school. R.S. 1925, c. 182 (Industrial Establishments) Re-enacts B.	1923, c. 46 (Children's Protection) A. Penalty for causing child under 10 to be employed to perform in circus or other place of amusement but child over 7 may be licensed for public entertainments. 1907, c. 15 (Children's Protection) Repeals A. B. Penalty for causing boy under 14, or girl under 16 to be employed to perform in circus or other place of amusement but child over 10 may be licensed for public entertainments. 1908, c. 59 (Children's Protection) C. Amends B. Penalty for causing child under 18 to be employed to perform in circus or other place of amusement, but child over 10 may be licensed for public entertainments under proper safeguards. 1919, c. 65 (Children's Protection) D. Amends C. Penalty for causing child under 18 to be employed to perform in circus, theatre or other place of amusement but child over 10 may be licensed for public entertainments under proper safeguards. 1927, c. 78 (Children's Protection) Re-enacts D. R.S. 1927, c. 279 (Children's Protection) Re-enacts D.	1911, c. 6 (Children's Protection) A. No child under 12 to be employed habitually 9 p.m.-8 a.m. B. No child under 18 in any occupation likely to injure life, limbs, health, education or morals. 1919 Minimum Wage Order C. No girls under 18 as ticket sellers, ushers or cleaners in places of amusement in cities of Winnipeg, St. Boniface or St. James. 1922, c. 2 (Child Welfare, in force Sept. 1, 1924) Re-enacts B. D. No child under 14 to be employed habitually 9 p.m.-6 a.m. E. Penalty for causing child under 16 to be in circus or other place of amusement to perform or sell articles, but child over 10 may be licensed for public entertainments under proper safeguards. F. Penalty for causing child under 16 to be employed for hire 9 p.m.-8 a.m. G. Municipal councils may pass by-laws re boys in bowling-alley. No licence to boy under 12 or to boy under 14 without parents' consent and no licence under 18 to work after 8 p.m., Dec.-Feb. or after 9 p.m. Mar.-Nov. 1924, c. 7 (Child Welfare) H. Amends F. Penalty for causing child under 18 to be employed for hire 9 p.m.-8 a.m. I. Amends D. No child under 18 to be employed habitually 9 p.m.-6 a.m. Consolidated Amendments, 1924, c. 30 (Child Welfare) Re-enacts B, E, G, H, I. 1929, c. 6 J. Amends E to raise age to 18 years. Permit required for child over 10 years in entertainment and owner must have licence for such employee.	1917 (2nd sess. c. 13) (Children's Protection) A. Penalty for causing child under 16 (1) to be employed 10 p.m.-6 a.m. or (2) to be at any time in place of amusement to perform or sell articles. Exception for child over 10 for public entertainments. 1917, c. 60 (Child Welfare) Re-enacts A (1). Amends (2). Penalty for causing child under 16 to be in circus or other place of amusement to perform or sell articles but licence may be granted for such hours as are deemed proper, not to exceed 7, if there is inspection. R.S. 1922, c. 217 (Children's Protection) F. Re-enacts B, C, as amended in 1918. R.S. 1922, c. 220 (Billiard Room) Re-enacts E. 1923 Minimum Wage Order G. No girl under 18 to be employed in theatre, moving-picture house, music or dance-hall or cafeteria except by permission of Minimum Wage Board. Applies to cities and towns of province. 1924 Minimum Wage Order Revised order omits G. 1925, c. 4 (Child Welfare, not yet in force) Re-enacts B, C, as amended D. H. Enacts as in Manitoba, D, F, G.	1900, c. 12 (Children's Protection) A. Penalty for causing child under 16 to be in circus or other place of amusement to perform or sell articles. Exception for child over 10 for public entertainments. 1910, (2nd sess.), c. 2, s. 23 (Statute Law Amendment) B. Amends A. Penalty for causing child under 17 to be in circus or other place of amusement to perform or sell articles. Exception for child over 10 for public entertainments for not more than 7 hours. Inspections required. C. Penalty for causing child under 17 to be employed 10 p.m.-6 a.m. Child so employed may be apprehended. 1916, c. 3, s. 17 (Statute Law Amendment) D. Age in B, C, raised to 18. 1919, c. 24 (Billiard Room) E. No child under 18 to be employed in billiard room or bowling alley. R.S. 1922, c. 217 (Children's Protection) F. Re-enacts B, C, as amended in 1918. R.S. 1922, c. 220 (Billiard Room) Re-enacts E. 1923 Minimum Wage Order G. No girl under 18 to be employed in theatre, moving-picture house, music or dance-hall or cafeteria except by permission of Minimum Wage Board. Applies to cities and towns of province. 1924 Minimum Wage Order Revised order omits G. 1925, c. 4 (Child Welfare, not yet in force) Re-enacts B, C, as amended D. H. Enacts as in Manitoba, D, F, G.	1912, c. 28 (Paol-room) A. No child under 18 to be employed in pool or billiard room. Act applies only to parts of province outside municipalities. 1917, c. 46 (Municipal) B. Municipal councils may pass by-laws to regulate or prohibit employment of girls or of boys under 18 in bowling-alley, billiard and pool-rooms. R.S. 1924, c. 179 (Municipal) Re-enacts B. R.S. 1924, c. 196 (Pool-Room) Re-enacts A.

The first Canadian statute dealing with children in street trades was an amendment to the Ontario Municipal Act in 1888 which conferred on boards of police commissioners in cities authority to regulate and control children engaged as express or despatch messengers, vendors of newspapers and small wares, and bootblacks. An Act for the prevention of cruelty to and better protection of children was enacted by the Ontario Legislative Assembly in 1893. This statute was borrowed almost entirely from Australian legislation and provided for the protection of neglected and delinquent children by societies organized for the purpose but children in street trades were not included at this time in the definition of "neglected" children. The Act contained, however, certain sections dealing with children performing for profit or selling articles in streets and places of amusement similar to those in the British statute of 1889, the only difference being that the prohibited hours under the Ontario Act were from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. In addition, power was given to municipal councils in cities, towns and incorporated villages to make by-laws fixing the hour after which children should not be in the streets at night without proper guardianship and providing for a curfew bell.

During the nineties, the Legislatures of Manitoba, Nova Scotia and British Columbia empowered town councils to issue curfew regulations and the same action was taken subsequently by the Legislatures of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. In Nova Scotia, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta specific authority has been given to municipal councils to regulate the street work of children by by-law. In New Brunswick, an Act of 1919 authorized commissioners of juvenile courts to issue regulations on street trading by children if approved by the municipality. The only juvenile court in New Brunswick was established in 1930 in Moncton.

In 1907, the committee, appointed by the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to enquire into the child labour employed in that province, reported:—

"Under the Municipal Act, municipalities are permitted to pass by-laws relative [to street trades]. No municipality has acted on this authority, save the city of Toronto, which permits, contrary to the provisions of the Truancy Act, the employment of children in this way at as tender an age as eight years."

A by-law of the city of Montreal in 1909 prohibited children selling newspapers or carrying on any other business in the streets or in public places without a licence. No licences were to be granted to girls of any age nor to boys under ten. Other cities may have availed themselves of the power to regulate the street work of children, but, on the whole, little use appears to have been made of this provision and local by-laws were generally poorly enforced. With the further development of child welfare legislation and the establishment of juvenile courts with probation officers, the enforcement of municipal by-laws as well as of provincial statutes, has been rendered much more effective in the provinces and cities having such organizations. In the three prairie provinces, municipal regulation under a licensing system has been provided for, definite limitations being imposed by the provincial laws on the ages and the hours of labour of the children permitted by by-laws to engage in street trades. No licence may be granted to any girl or to a boy under 12 nor to a boy under 14 without his parent's consent. Boys under 18 licensed as newsboys, vendors, shoe-shiners, or messengers (or pin-boys in bowling alleys in Manitoba) may not carry on their trade after 8 o'clock in the evening, during the months from December to February, inclusive, nor after 9 o'clock during the rest of the year.

The sections of the Ontario Children's Protection Act, 1893, which made it an offence to "cause or procure" children of specified ages to be in a street, public place or circus or other place of amusement for the purpose of begging or performing or selling articles during certain hours have been amended from time to time to raise the minimum age and to extend the prohibited hours. Similar clauses were embodied in the Children's Protection Acts of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In Alberta children under 18 who are in streets or public places to perform or sell articles are included in the law which is in force at the present time. The minimum age for children in such places was fixed at 16 in the Alberta Child Welfare Act, 1925, but this statute has not been brought into operation. The New Brunswick Children's Protection Act contained the clause designed to prevent children begging; the other sections were not incorporated in the law of this province. The new statute, enacted by the New Brunswick Legislature in 1930, but not yet in force, omits this clause. One writer has commented on this form of legislation:—

"There was one fatal weakness in the Act: it contained no provision directly forbidding children to infringe the regulations, but merely prescribed penalties for any person who should "cause or procure" any child to act contrary to them."¹

¹Keeling, "Child Labour in the United Kingdom," London, 1914.

These clauses of the British statute of 1889, enacted in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, relate to children who are employed as performers or who are selling articles in theatres, circuses or such places and do not include children employed in bowling alleys, billiard-rooms, pool-rooms, or similar places of amusement. In British Columbia specific power is given to municipal councils to prohibit or regulate the employment of children in the latter places. A by-law of the city of Victoria prohibits the employment of any girls or of boys under 18 in any billiard hall or pool-room.¹ The Manitoba and Alberta Child Welfare Acts enable municipal by-laws to be made to regulate the employment of juveniles under 18 in bowling alleys. Alberta has also a Billiard Room Act which applies to both billiard-rooms and bowling-alleys and forbids the employment in these places of any one under 18 years of age. A British Columbia statute of 1912, applying to those parts of the province without municipal organization, prohibits the employment of boys under 18 in billiard- or pool-rooms. In other provinces the statutes empowering municipalities to pass by-laws regulating such places might be regarded as sufficient for this purpose. The Ontario Children's Protection Act prohibits a child under 16 being in a place of public resort or entertainment after 9 p.m. unless accompanied by an adult but makes no reference to employment in such a place. An ordinance of the city of Halifax, issued under the authority of the Halifax City Charter, forbids the employment of boys under 18 in public billiard-rooms or bowling-alleys. The Children's Protection Act, 1930, of New Brunswick prohibits children under 14 being employed in a bowling-alley, billiard-room or pool-room at any time and forbids the employment of children under 16 in such places after 10.30 p.m. This law has not yet been proclaimed in force.

Machinery was provided by the provincial Children's Protection Acts for the apprehension and custody of "neglected" and "delinquent" children. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, amendments of 1907 and 1908, respectively, provided that a child under 16 who was found on the streets during school hours without lawful occupation might be apprehended as a "neglected" child. At this time, there was no compulsory school attendance law in Manitoba. In Saskatchewan school attendance was required only up to 13 years of age for at least 16 weeks but the age-limit was raised to 14 in 1909 and the minimum period of attendance extended to 150 days. It was a logical development for truant children or children engaged in street trades during school hours to be dealt with in the same way as vagrant or mendicant children or children suffering from abuse or bad environment. This method was later applied to the problem of street trading by children outside school hours and "neglected" children in Manitoba under the existing law may be children under 12 who are engaged in street trading at any time, children under 14 selling newspapers or other articles or distributing advertising matter in streets or public places during school hours or after nine in the evening or children under 16 who are employed anywhere between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.

The Alberta Child Welfare Act, 1925, contained these provisions of the Manitoba statute for the taking into custody of children engaged in street work or employed at night but, as stated before, the Alberta Act has not been proclaimed in force.

In Saskatchewan, only the night employment of children under 16 years of age brings them within the definition of "neglected" children. Children under this age who are employed anywhere between the hours of ten in the evening and six in the morning may be taken by a constable, officer of a juvenile court or officer of a children's aid society to a place of safety. The 1930 New Brunswick Act authorizes such officers to apprehend as a child in need of protection any child who is carrying on a street trade contrary to the provisions of the Act. Only in the prairie provinces and in Ontario and New Brunswick has this method of regulating street trading by children been specifically adopted but in any province where child labour in streets or public places is in violation of a provincial statute or municipal by-law, children engaged in such occupations may be apprehended as "delinquent" and dealt with in accordance with the Children's Protection Act of the province.

The Ontario Legislative Assembly's Committee on Child Labour in 1906-07 gave considerable attention to the problem of children in street trades and their attendance at and employment in theatres and places of amusement. The report of the committee contains the following comment and recommendations:—

"Several witnesses have been examined relative to the street trades—newsboys, messenger boys and the like. Until recently the newsboy was not included in the child

¹There is no information as to any other such by-laws.

labour problem. In consequence he has been left the absolute master of his time and has become industrious or shiftless, honest or dishonest in his methods, according to his natural inclination. Many of them are thrifty and industrious; they take up the work because of the opportunities it affords, and eventually become useful citizens. Such boys should be given every opportunity to pursue their trade. Abuses in connection with the calling have given rise to the demand in some leading cities of the United States that it be regulated and controlled. One is the employment of boys of ten years and younger. For these the privation, exposure and irregular life is most injurious. They are also particularly susceptible to the evil influences of the street, and often, not being able to compete with older boys, they resort to begging tactics. The vending of newspapers, because of the opportunity it affords for gain, also attracts boys of the vagrant class and encourages truancy. A life full of excitement and free from restraint has a tendency to induce a boy to break away from authority of every description. The truant tends to become a vagrant, and home and school know him no more; from vagrancy to crime is but a short step.

"The New York law provides that no male child under ten years (twelve was the original intention), and no girl under sixteen shall engage in selling newspapers on the street; that all children over ten and actually or apparently under fourteen, must first obtain a permit and a badge from the District Superintendent of the Board of Education of the school district where the child resides, and that no child to whom a permit has been issued shall sell papers after ten o'clock at night.

"There is in Ontario no general law governing these trades¹ but under the Municipal Act municipalities are permitted to pass by-laws relative thereto. No municipality has acted on this authority save the city of Toronto, which permits, contrary to the provisions of the Truancy Act, the employment of children in this way at as tender an age as eight years. A Provincial law should govern this question; provisions should be made for newsboys and others ten years and upwards working after school hours, but not later than 7 p.m., and boys who perform such work as a calling should come under the general regulation as to age, namely, fourteen years for day work and sixteen years for night work.

"Your committee recommend that provision be made forbidding the employment of children in such unhealthful occupations as acrobats, tumblers, etc. It has been represented to the Committee that in cities like Toronto hundreds of boys from nine to sixteen are frequent attendants at cheap shows. The late hours, nervous excitement and moral deterioration resulting from the practice are injurious to character. This with the reading of dime novels, smoking cigarettes, etc., frequently prevents boys from settling down to a trade or to regular employment, and leads to idleness, theft and vicious habits. Half the men in our prisons had, prior to conviction, never learned a trade. We, therefore, recommend that the attendance of children of either sex under fourteen years of age at theatrical and kindred performances when given by professionals should be prohibited, unless they are accompanied by parents or guardians."

In the meantime, however, the law in Britain had been amended and the Employment of Children Act, 1903, directly prohibited a child under 11 years of age being employed in street trading or a child under 14 being employed between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. or in "any occupation likely to be injurious to his life, limb, health or education, regard being had to his physical condition." Local authorities were empowered to make by-laws with respect to street trading by children under 16 years of age and any other occupations of children under 14. Amendments designed to restrict further the employment of children in streets and places of entertainment were made, also, in 1904 to the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Acts of 1889 and 1894. In the years following the passing of these statutes increasing attention was paid to the problems of juvenile employment and street trading came to be regarded as among the worst forms of "blind-alley" labour.² A departmental committee on the Employment of Children Act, 1903, reported in 1910 with regard to children in street trades:—

"We have come to the conclusion . . . that the effect of street trading upon the character of those who engage in it is only too frequently disastrous. The youthful street trader is exposed to many of the worst of moral risks; he associates with, and acquires the habits of, the frequenters of the kerbstone and the gutter. If a match seller, he is likely to become a beggar—if a newspaper seller, a gambler; the evidence before us was extraordinarily strong as to the extent to which begging prevails among the boy vendors of evening papers. There was an almost equally strong body of testimony to the effect that, at any rate in crowded centres of population, street trading

¹The sections of the Children's Protection Act imposing penalties on any person who "causes or procures" children under specified ages to be in the streets or public places or places of amusement to perform or sell articles had been on the statute books since 1893.

²Report of Poor Law Commission, 1909, App. Vo 1.20, pp. 23-25

tends to produce a dislike or disability for more regular employment; the child finds that for a few years money is easily earned without discipline or special skill; and the occupation is one which sharpens the wits without developing the intelligence. It leads to nothing practically, and in no way helps him to a future career. There can be no doubt that large numbers of those who were once street traders drift into vagrancy and crime. . . . Much evidence was given to the effect that the practice of street trading, even though only carried on in the intervals of school attendance, tends to produce a restless disposition, and a dislike or restraint which makes children unwilling to settle down to any regular employment. So far as girls are concerned there must be added to the above evils an unquestionable danger to morals in the narrower sense. The evidence presented to us on this point was unanimous and most emphatic. Again and again persons specially qualified to speak assured us that when a girl took up street trading, she almost invariably was taking a first step towards a life of immorality. The statement that the temptations are great, and the children practically defenceless, needs no amplification. An occupation entailing such perils is indisputably unfit for girls. . . .

"After carefully considering the operation of the by-laws adopted since 1903, and comparing the present state of affairs with that existing before the passing of the Act, we have come to the conclusion that the difficulties of the situation cannot be said to have been met, or a substantial contribution to a solution of the problem made, by the existing law and the machinery set up for its enforcement. Regulation, however well organized and complete will not turn a wasteful and uneconomic use of the energies of children into a system which is beneficial to the community. Consequently, we feel that we have no choice but to recommend the complete statutory prohibition of street trading either by boys or by girls up to a specific age."¹

The majority of the committee recommended the complete prohibition of street trading by boys under 17 and girls under 18 and proposed to transfer the administration of the law to the local education authorities. The minority agreed with the proposal for the statutory prohibition for girls but in the case of boys recommended that regulation be left to the local authorities under a licensing system and with specially selected officers to enforce the Act. No further changes were made in the law, however, until the enactment of the Education Act, 1918, when children under 14 were prohibited from being employed in street trading. At the same time the provisions of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Acts were amended to raise the minimum age to 12 and to extend the prohibited hours, for boys under 14 and girls under 16 in streets or places of amusement for the purpose of performing or selling articles, to the period between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.

In 1913, the Children's Protection Act of Ontario was consolidated and a new section was added:—

"16. No girls under 16 years of age and no boy under 10 years of age shall engage in or be licensed or permitted to engage in any street trade or occupation."

This was the first direct and specific prohibition of street trading in Canada by a provincial statute and it was amended in 1919 to raise the minimum age of boys to 12 years and in 1922 to prohibit boys under 16 working in street trades after 10 p.m. A penalty not exceeding \$100 or imprisonment not exceeding one year or both fine and imprisonment may be imposed on any one permitting such work. It is noteworthy that this section forbids a child of the specified ages "engaging" in any street trade, thus avoiding the use of the term "employed". Under the British Act and similar American statutes it had been found difficult to obtain convictions if it could be proved that the child was not receiving wages from an employer. The "street merchant" was decided to be outside the scope of statutes prohibiting the "employment" of children in street trades.

The Children's Protection Act, passed by the New Brunswick Legislature in 1930, contains clauses prohibiting a girl under 12 or a boy under 10 engaging in street work at any time, unless licensed by the judge of the juvenile court or by the county court judge, and forbidding a child under 14 following a street trade during school hours or a boy under 16 engaging in street work between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. The proclamation necessary to bring this statute into force has not been issued.

In the Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta laws, there is no prohibition similar to that of the Ontario statute of 1913. The Legislature of Manitoba enacted in 1911 a clause from the British Act of 1903 declaring it unlawful to employ any child under 16 in any occupation likely to be injurious to his life, limbs, health, education or morals and this provision was incorporated in the Child Welfare Act of Alberta, 1925. The Shops Regulation Act of

¹Cd. 5229, pp. 11, 13.

Manitoba, restricting the employment of children in retail and wholesale stores, was made applicable in 1917 to premises used to furnish a messenger service and children delivering parcels and messages were thus brought within its scope. This statute limits employment in such places to juveniles over 14 years of age except in the case of children granted employment certificates. It permits, however, boys of 13 to work for not more than 2 hours on school days and 8 hours on school holidays. In 1919, an order of the Minimum Wage Board of Manitoba forbade the employment of girls under 16 as ticket-sellers, ushers or cleaners in places of amusement in the cities of Winnipeg, St. Boniface and St. James. An order of the Alberta Minimum Wage Board, in 1923, prohibited girls under 18 working in theatres, moving-picture houses, music or dance halls or in cabarets except by permission of the board, but this order was withdrawn at the end of the next year.

In Quebec an amendment to the Industrial Establishments Act in 1910 forbade children under 15 performing in a theatre or similar place except when the profits of the performance were for charitable purposes. In 1919, this clause was repealed and a broader restriction imposed. No child under 16 unable to read and write fluently was to be employed in a theatre or similar place or to be employed as a messenger or newsboy or vendor of articles or distributor of handbills in streets or public places, unless he was attending night school. In no case could such employment extend beyond eight o'clock in the evening.

In Nova Scotia until 1930, the only limitation on street trading by children, other than what might be effected by municipal by-laws to prevent children under 15 being on the street at night, was imposed by the Education Act and concerned those under 16 only during school hours. Further, children over 12 years of age who have completed Grade 7 of the public school course or children over 13 who satisfy the local board of school commissioners that necessity requires them to go to work are not within this prohibition. At the legislative session of 1930, however, the Children's Protection Act of Nova Scotia was amended to enable city and town councils to pass by-laws to control and regulate the employment of children under 16 as express or despatch messengers or as vendors of newspapers and small wares. Such by-laws must be approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council before having the force of law. The Director of Child Welfare for the province of Nova Scotia remarked in his report for the year ending September 30, 1926:—

"We think the time has come when some restrictions should be imposed on children engaged in street trades. We would draw attention to the fact that a large percentage of delinquent boys appearing in the Halifax Court were found to be engaged in some such occupation and investigation revealed that the effect on certain types of boys was detrimental. Such boys are exposed to undue temptation, their work interferes with their school studies and they are brought into contact with undesirable adults at an age when they are not able to withstand such evil influences. In one of the most notorious cases brought before the Juvenile Court in Halifax during the year it was discovered that a boy of twelve sold papers for two or three hours before school in the morning, he sold papers after school in the afternoon and worked in a bowling-alley until past midnight. He was brought in on a charge of truancy. The teacher complained that he was drowsy and listless in school. Was it any wonder? Another boy, before the Court for stealing a bicycle and selling it, stated that he had been selling papers and nut bars about the city. He told the Court what sums he had made and that he had fallen in company with an older boy who told him that that was too slow a way to make money and that he could show him a much quicker way of getting rich. The quick way was to steal a bicycle and sell it. The older boy knew a ready purchaser for such stolen wheels. The delinquent boy frankly confessed that he thought selling goods was too slow a process in making money and that there were easier and quicker ways of making it. The begging which is so common around the theatres and streets is due in no small measure to the habit so very prevalent of newsboys getting a nickel or a dime and not having change and being told to 'never mind—keep the change.' In questioning the parents of a number of these boys engaged in street trades we discovered that, in most cases the money was not spent on the family but it all went for the boy's own benefit and pleasure, such as the nickel, chewing gum, candy, etc. Several parents have told us that it was not the amount of money which the boys made in selling papers or articles but what they got in 'tips' which counted. The time has certainly come when boys under fourteen years of age should be prohibited from engaging in these trades unless for certain hours under license."¹

In his report for the next year, the Nova Scotia Director of Child Welfare made the following further comment on juveniles in street trades. These statements are quoted

¹Pages 73-4.

at length since they probably apply to a greater or less degree to most of the cities in Canada.

"In numerous previous reports attention has been called to the injurious effect on children of tender years engaging in street trades. During the past year the Court has dealt with a considerable number of cases where newspaper selling was certainly one cause, if not the chief cause of the boy's delinquency. Many parents have told the Court that they did not know their children were engaged in newspaper selling. In practically every instance they told the Court they received no benefit from the boy's work, that the money he earned was spent on himself, and on questioning the boy he freely admitted that the money was spent on candy and on the movies. A good deal of begging on the streets by small boys is undoubtedly traceable to the habit they are forming of getting something for nothing. The public, of course, are to blame for not insisting on receiving change when they give a boy five or ten cents for a three-cent newspaper, and until the public co-operate by refusing to give the children nickels and dimes, and until they insist on getting the correct change when they buy papers, begging will continue to flourish in the city.

"Many parents have complained that they do not want their children to sell papers, that they have forbidden them to do so but that they got them in some way, and among the disastrous results which the Court has observed is that a boy gets behind with his paper money, and in order to make it up steals either from his parents or from some outside sources. Another most disastrous effect is that the boys who sell newspapers all the afternoon and evening are unable to do their work in school the following day. We have had several notorious cases of this brought to the attention of the Court during the past year. There is no doubt that the time has fully come when some drastic measures must be taken to regulate newspaper selling in the city of Halifax. There can be no question that there is a large number of manly boys, honest and upright, who are doing their work in a proper way and who are earning money for legitimate purposes, and there is a number of adults conducting a respectable and honest business by selling newspapers. Some method of licensing newspaper vendors and limiting the age, keeping the undesirable element out, and particularly preventing children from engaging in this occupation without the knowledge and consent of their parents is an imperative duty which the adult citizens of Halifax owe to these children."

Reference has been made to the important part played by officers of juvenile courts and children's aid societies in the enforcement of municipal by-laws regulating child labour in street trades. Equally effective is the work of such officers, and of school attendance officers, in enforcing the provisions of provincial laws regarding juveniles working in streets and public places. It is only by the use of such officers with their special interest in children that the laws regarding neglected and delinquent children can be properly carried out. All nine provinces have laws providing for the commitment and care of neglected and delinquent children by children's aid societies, but, as noted above, only certain of these statutes specially refer to children in street trades. Through the operation of a juvenile court, however, such a law may be used to prevent certain delinquent children working in the streets. Direct statutory prohibition of street work by children renders the enforcement of the law less difficult. The Juvenile Delinquents Act, first enacted by the Dominion Parliament in 1908, provides for juvenile courts in those provinces or portions of provinces in which it may be proclaimed. At the present time, that Act is in force in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba and in practically all the settled parts of British Columbia and in Vancouver, in the cities of Charlottetown and Summerside in Prince Edward Island, in Halifax and the counties of Pictou, Kings, Hants, Colchester and Cape Breton in Nova Scotia, in Moncton, New Brunswick, in Montreal and in the Ontario cities or towns of Brantford, Dundas, Ford, Galt, Hamilton, Kitchener, Oshawa, Ottawa, Port Colborne, St. Mary's, Stratford, Toronto, Walkerville and Windsor. In addition, the Act has been proclaimed in the following counties of Ontario—Brant, Grey, Haldimand, Huron, Lincoln, Perth and Waterloo and in the district of Nipissing.

NIGHT WORK AND DANGEROUS OCCUPATIONS

In addition to laws governing school attendance and juvenile employment in mines, factories, shops, streets and places of amusement, the legislatures of some provinces have enacted legislation regulating the work of juveniles generally or their employment at night. Table L indicates the law regarding the night work of young persons in Canada.

TABLE L.—Hours at Night Prohibited to Juveniles of Specified Ages in Certain Workplaces in Canada, 1929

	Factories	Shops	Bake-shops	Streets	Places of Amusement	General
Nova Scotia.....	Girls, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. ¹.	.....	*	.....	.....	.....
New Brunswick.....	Girls, 10.30 p.m.-6 a.m. ¹.	.....	*	.....	.....	.....
Quebec.....	Boys under 18 and all girls, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. ¹.	.....	*	Under 16, after 8 p.m.; under 16, all hours. ⁴	Under 16, after 8 p.m.; under 16, all hours. ⁴	.....
Ontario.....	Boys under 16 and all girls, 6.30 p.m.-7 a.m., but 10 p.m.-7 a.m. under normal conditions; in emergencies, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. ¹ .	Boys under 16 and all girls, 6 p.m.-7 a.m., but 10 p.m.-7 a.m. before holiday and Dec. 14-24.	*	Under 16, 10 p.m.-6 a.m.	Under 16, all hours. ⁴	.....
Manitoba.....	Boys and girls under 17, 10 p.m.-7 a.m. ¹ .	Girls under 18; boys under 17, 10 p.m.-8 a.m.	*	Under 14, after 9 p.m.	Under 18, all hours. ⁴	Under 16, 10 p.m.-6 a.m.; under 18, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. if employed habitually; under 18, 9 p.m.-8 a.m. if employed for hire. 16, 10 p.m.-6 a.m.
Saskatchewan.....	Boys under 16 and all girls, 6.30 p.m.-7 a.m., under normal conditions; in emergencies, 10 p.m.-7 a.m. ¹.	.....	*	.....	Under 16, all hours. ⁴	.....
Alberta.....	.....	.....	*	Under 14, after 9 p.m. ²	Under 18, all hours. ⁴	Under 18, 10 p.m.-6 a.m.; under 14, 9 p.m.-6 a.m. if employed habitually ² ; under 16, 9 p.m.-8 a.m. if employed for hire. ³
British Columbia.....	Girls, 8 p.m.-7 a.m. ¹.	.....	Under 18, 9 p.m.-5 a.m.	.....	.....	Under 18, 8 p.m.-7 a.m. ³ .

¹Inspector may grant exemption from normal hours on not more than 36 days; in such case prohibited hours are as stated.

²Child Welfare Act, 1925, not proclaimed in force.

³To come into force only when similar law enacted by other provinces.

⁴Includes only children employed to perform or sell articles in theatres, circuses or other such places of amusement. Exemption for public entertainment on certain conditions.

*Large bakeries are "factories"; small bake-shops may be "shops".

In 1910, an amendment to the Children's Protection Act of Alberta provided that a child under 17 who was employed between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., might be taken into custody as a "neglected" child. The age limit was raised to 18 in 1916 but the 1925 Act which, if in force, would repeal the earlier Act, fixes the age at 16 and prescribes a penalty for any person who causes or procures a child under 16 to be "employed for hire" between 9 p.m. and 8 a.m. The Saskatchewan Children's Protection Act of 1917 followed the Alberta law in providing for the apprehension of a child under 16 who was employed between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. and the Child Welfare Act of 1927 reproduced this provision. The Manitoba Legislature enacted a similar clause in the Child Welfare Act, 1922, and also a clause declaring it an offence for any person to cause or procure a child under 16 to be "employed for hire" between 9 p.m. and 8 a.m. An amendment of 1924 raised the minimum age in the latter clause to 18. A Manitoba statute of 1911 made it an offence to employ "habitually" a child under 12 years of age between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. This section, as amended by the Manitoba Legislature in 1914 to raise the protected age to 14 years, was embodied in the Alberta Act of 1925. The minimum age in Manitoba was raised to 18 in 1924.

In British Columbia the Legislature of 1921 passed the Night Employment of Young Persons Act (c. 47) drafted along the lines of the convention of the International Labour Conference of 1919 dealing with the night work of young persons. This statute would prohibit the employment of persons under 18 years of age between the hours of 8 p.m. and 7 a.m. but it was provided that the Act should come into force only when similar legislation should be passed in other provinces.

None of the other legislatures has enacted a general prohibition of night labour for young persons but the factories and shops Acts place some restriction on work at night of certain classes of young persons in industrial and mercantile establishments and the laws governing street trades and employment in places of amusement contain special regulations concerning work of this kind at night.

In the section dealing with juveniles in street trades and places of amusement, reference was made to provisions of the Manitoba and Alberta Child Welfare Acts dealing with employment in dangerous occupations. In 1911, the Manitoba Legislative Assembly declared it unlawful to employ a child under 16 in any occupation likely to injure his life, limbs, health, education or morals. The Alberta Child Welfare Act, passed in 1925, contained a similar clause but the statute has not been proclaimed. No other province has a general law of this kind and there is no legislation in force in Canada regulating juvenile employment in dangerous trades except the general prohibition of children under specified ages in mines and factories, a limited protection for young persons against moving machinery and certain administrative orders in Quebec.¹ Such hazardous manufacturing industries as those involving the use of poisonous substances like the non-ferrous metal industries and rubber goods manufacture, others requiring extreme temperatures and humidity or generating dusts like textiles, tobacco and cigarettes and metal grinding and polishing have not been restricted in the matter of juvenile employment as in Great Britain and many of the United States. Certain of these industries are of comparatively recent development in Canada but all are growing rapidly.²

¹See p. 119.

²See sections under Manufactures, pp. 38-63.

APPENDIX

Extracts from *An Experimental Study of Children at Work and in School between the Ages of Fourteen and Eighteen Years* by Helen T. Woolley, Ph.D., formerly Director of the Vocation Bureau of Cincinnati. This volume was based on a five-year study of over 700 working children and about 600 school children in Cincinnati:¹

Age of leaving school.

"The question of what is the correct upper limit for compulsory education is one which has given much concern to educators and to those interested in preventing harmful child labour. Much of the discussion has hinged upon the question of what the schools have to offer adolescent children and what industry has to offer them. Educators and social workers have very generally arrived at an agreement that fourteen years is a minimum age for leaving school. At present the tendency is to advance compulsory education to sixteen years. In the light of the present study I should like to discuss the matter from the standpoint of the rate of mental and physical development of adolescent children. So little has been known scientifically in this realm, except in terms of physical growth, that such considerations have not played as large a part as they might in guiding policies.

It seems sufficiently evident that the years of very rapid growth, physical and mental, should be spent in school rather than in industry. This study has shown, that on the whole, school furnishes a better background for physical development than industry in that school children are always ahead of working children. It is even more evident that school furnishes a better background for mental development. The period of rapid mental growth should be one in which the acquisition of knowledge and of fundamental skills is the chief concern of the child. This study has shown that the years of rapid development are not the same for the two sexes and not the same for superior and inferior individuals.

If sex were to be made the basis of difference in the age of leaving school, as has been done in some states, there would be more reason for allowing girls to leave school earlier than boys. . . . Since it is, as we have seen, chiefly the inferior children who drop out of school as early as the law permits, the age of school-leaving should be determined by the period at which the inferior group completes the years of rapid mental and physical growth. Sixteen years is the age which seems justified on this ground. By that age girls have unquestionably completed their years of rapid development. The year between sixteen and seventeen is important in the development of some of the boys. If the age is to be uniform for the two sexes, sixteen constitutes the best compromise. . . .

The objection to the sixteen-year age limit for leaving school has come in part from the school itself and is based upon the fact that inferior children cannot keep up the academic pace of the traditional school until the age of sixteen. They merely become retarded and discouraged, develop a sense of inferiority, form bad habits of truancy, and sometimes become delinquent. This is all quite true, but the solution of the problem should be that of changing the type of school to fit the child rather than that of eliminating the child from school. Surely some legitimate content of education can be found to keep these inferior children profitably and happily employed during their years of most rapid mental and physical acquisition.

Scholarships for superior children.

"This study has shown clearly the tendency for superior children to remain in school. The policy of keeping them in school is obviously a wise one. Scholarships for this purpose have been advocated by many and are actually in force in some of our large cities, notably New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati. . . . This study has shown, first, that on the ground of ability not more than one-fourth of those who leave school as early as the law permits could be considered possible candidates for scholarships. It has shown further that of this fourth, many have belonged in families in which the conditions were unfavourable to a continued school career. Either the family atmosphere was so bad as to distract the child from an interest in school or the ideals of the family were definitely in favour of early withdrawal from school. . . . The number of children who have the ability to profit by education beyond sixteen years, who have the desire to continue, and who need financial aid to help them to do so, is comparatively small. . . . The terrific disadvantage under

¹ MacMillan Co., New York, 1926. 762 pp.

which children of superior mental ability without education labour has been made clear in this study. They can secure for themselves no advantage in terms of wage-earning. Their advantage in terms of type of work performed consists only in the choice of inferior grades of office work or minor sales positions instead of machine-tending in factories. When we consider the fact that some of these children would be capable of making a real contribution to the industrial, the social, the educational, or the aesthetic life of the community, it seems an obvious point of good social policy to give them whatever advantage education can supply.

Provision for individual diagnosis in the school system.

"If the school is to fulfil its ideal function of providing each child with as much education as he can profitably take and with the kind of education suited to his capacities, then provision for mental and physical diagnosis of children must be made in the school. It is generally recognized that medical service for the discovery of physical defects which are interfering with school progress is a legitimate part of school procedure. It is less generally conceded that provision for adequate mental diagnosis and the discovery of mental difficulties which may be interfering with school progress is equally necessary. If it is true that levels of ability differ widely, it must follow that education needs to be adapted to level ability.

Probably few would question this general assertion. The doubt enters in when we ask ourselves whether we have any way of diagnosing the level of ability accurately. No one questions the difficulty of the task or the chance of error in the individual case. Nevertheless, recent educational experiments as well as the data presented in this study and in a host of others show that the proper use of mental tests aids greatly in forming a correct judgment of the level of ability of the child. What needs to be emphasized is that a mere mental-test result is not sufficient. The factors of health, of the home background of the child, and of educational history up to the time when the test is made must all be taken into consideration. There can be no real doubt, however, that a psychological laboratory in the hands of a properly qualified expert can enable a school system to make a far better classification of its children with reference to their ability to progress in school than can be done without it. . . . That the system of mental testing is open to abuses there can be no doubt. Too often the mere result of a mental test—even of a group mental test—has been given undue weight in the judgment of the child. To interpret a test result in the light of other findings requires trained judgment and experience. The fact that mental tests may be abused and their results misinterpreted constitutes no more reason for opposing them than the same reason would lead us to do away with medical drugs or courts of justice. Our efforts should be centered on securing a wise use of the tests by insisting upon adequate training and preparation on the part of those who use them, and by improving the technique of the tests themselves and increasing our knowledge of the inter-relationship of mental-test level with other factors of personality.

In addition to the psychological laboratory, the school needs a means of making social diagnoses, such as are contributed by the modern visiting teacher. Next to the mental level of the child, home atmosphere and ideals have been shown to be the most potent factors in determining school progress. The modern educator must regard all of the factors that further or retard the progress of children in school as relevant to his task. . . . Theoretically the school is an adjunct to the home, created for the purpose of assisting parents in their task of bringing up children, and yet only too often the education of the home and that of the school are conducted quite independently of one another. Something of the technique of social case work, as developed by the social worker, must be taken over by the school in its investigation of the extra-school-room conditions which are interfering with school progress. The visiting teacher is the pioneer who is blazing the trail in method, but her lead must draw after it a host of followers before the general need is met.

As far as machinery is concerned, the attendance department of the school holds the strategic position. The difficulty with our present attendance officers is that they have the traditions of the police officer rather than those of the social worker. Their function has been in the past merely to arrest and haul into school truant children. The attendance officer of the future should have the function now being performed by the visiting teacher: that of diagnosing the conditions of home and neighbourhood which are interfering with school progress and of doing what can be done to correct such conditions. To fulfil these functions more officers would be required, and the standards of training and preparation would have to be made more rigid and different in kind. When the attendance departments of the schools are transformed into departments of social diagnosis and treatment, the school will be equipped to deal with a phase of education which is at present sadly neglected. . . .

Vocational training and vocational guidance.

"Those whose chief interest has been in vocational guidance have long seen that vocational guidance and educational guidance cannot be separated but are parts of one continuous process. The only vocational advice really worth giving to a child is advice to secure a specific kind of training. Such advice must be given, however, before the child leaves school and while there is yet time to secure the training. The fundamental problem, therefore, is that of educational guidance. If educational guidance is well done and proper means of vocational training are available, most of the problem of vocational guidance is solved by the time the child is ready to leave school.

The principle on which educators in this field have been proceeding is that our first obligation is to secure to every child as much general education as he is capable of taking and at a pace suited to his level of capacity. Our second obligation we have regarded as that of securing to every child some specific preparation for wage-earning before he completes his education. The point at which vocational education should begin seems to be dependent upon the capacities and interests of the child. For some children vocational education should be postponed until after the completion of a college course, when the child is ready to enter upon his professional training. These are the very superior children of the community. For those at the other end of the scale it might be necessary to begin vocational education as early as the twelfth or fourteenth year of age, before the child leaves the elementary school. It is the second element of this program upon which the present study throws doubt. We have been assuming that some content of vocational education could be found for every child in the school system. We are now beginning to question whether this is true for the group of children of very inferior ability. It still remains unquestionably true for superior children, those of the upper half of the level of ability. For them, the professions, the administrative positions in industry and commerce, various phases of public life, and the arts still offer scope for a wide variety of specific preparation.

The situation for the child of somewhat inferior ability, those in the lowest fourth or half of our group of working children, is totally different. Our former theory was that the children of this group should be trained for some phase of skilled manual work, but the demand for the skilled manual worker is decreasing very rapidly in the industrial world. The rapid increase in machine production of all kinds means that the modern industrial world needs more and more machine-tenders and fewer and fewer skilled mechanics. Even in the realm of office work the same tendency is observed. The modern office needs more and more comptometrists and typists and fewer and fewer book-keepers, stenographers, and secretaries. Doubtless the demands for training in what remains of skilled work is higher than ever before. The kind of expert who can keep the machines of to-day in order and repair them, and still more one who can improve them or invent new ones, needs more training than the older type of skilled mechanic. Doubtless the same principle holds in the new type of office work. It requires a greater expert to plan and supervise the complicated office force of the large modern office than was the stenographer of the past. In short, the administrative and supervising positions in commerce and industry seem to be making greater and greater demands upon the individual and requiring more and more adequate preparation. This entire field is unquestionably the legitimate province of vocational training. We have seen, however, that many of our children, perhaps as many as a fourth or a third, will be compelled to earn a living at processes so routine in type that they offer no content for vocational training. Doubtless, office work even of the routine type done by the comptometrist and typist still demands training. There is content here for a course of at least a year in length. The same does not hold true of the machine-tending work of the factories. Most of the jobs of the modern factory can be learned in a few weeks by those of very limited intelligence and learned better in the factory than in the school. It requires more than a few weeks to develop maximum speed on a machine, but the acquisition of speed on a machine would not in any case become an educational project.

Our study has shown that the type of factory work open to young beginners can be performed satisfactorily by the poorest 10 per cent of our working children. This means approximately the poorest 5 per cent of the total school population. These children make more satisfactory workers than the more intelligent ones in the sense that they are better content and remain longer on the machine-tending jobs. They earn as much as the superior children of the same age and of three years more of schooling. They are as well able to secure work. That the work open to from 25 to 50 per cent of our children is of such a nature that the poorest 5 per cent are adequate to do it must mean that the rest will be compelled to earn a living by routine work which makes little demand upon their ability and offers no scope for educational preparation.

The dilemma of the school consists in the fact that the children whose future work is without educational content are the very ones who cannot keep up to the standards of traditional school work. They are incapable of doing the older type of school work normally and they need no preparation for the technique of wage-earning. As yet, this dilemma has been in no way met by the school. For the most part, even yet, the inferior children merely fail, become retarded in school, and leave school as early as the law permits with no preparation for life except that of having failed in school.

Until very recently the school has not even felt a sense of responsibility with regard to the children who drop out early. The general attitude toward them was that if they could not profit by the education offered them, that was their fault and the school was in no way responsible. Leaving school was the only possible outcome. The whole system has been dominated by a desire to prepare children for the next higher educational level. The efforts of the elementary school have been centered upon preparing children for high school and those of the high school on preparing children for college. Doubtless preparation for more education is one entirely legitimate and exceedingly important purpose of the school, but when it dominates education to such an extent that nothing adequate is accomplished in preparation for living for almost half of the school population, the tendency needs to be curbed. Now that scientific methods have made it possible to determine fairly early in a school career which children will be able to profit by prolonged training of the academic type and which ones are sure to be limited in accomplishment, there is still less excuse for merely selecting the superior and rejecting the inferior.

No educator really believes that allowing the inferior children to leave school, after the required number of years of academic failure, is a good educational policy. It has been allowed to go on merely because the school has not known how to meet the situation. Now that specific vocational training seems to be eliminated, the school is in a still more difficult position. It must try to find out how best to fit children of limited mental ability for a life in which wage-earning will take the form of monotonous labour. Let me suggest two elements in a solution of the problem. The first consists in the attempt to change the attitude of the child toward, and his type of interest in, his job. The second consists in more stress on preparation for a wise use of leisure time.

Much of the discussion of the modern industrial problem has taken the attitude that monotonous labour is necessarily injurious to the worker and that, therefore, the only legitimate attitude for education was to seek methods of reducing the amount of monotonous labour in industry. For education to undertake to stem the tide of machine methods of production with its subdivisions of labour and lead the world back to the period of production by the individual skilled artisan is to undertake the manifestly impossible. Mass production by machinery and the subdivision of labour represent the irresistible trend of the whole industrial world. . . . What we need to do is to examine in a more scientific spirit the nature of monotonous processes, the length of time during which they can be maintained without injury to the worker, and their effect upon the worker under varying conditions. . . .

We have said that the second factor which helps to determine the attitude of the worker towards his job is that of the content of the rest of his life. If the hours of labour must be made short, then the way in which the worker spends his free time becomes of increasing importance. In other words, more and more stress must be placed upon education for leisure.

Only too often in discussing education for leisure, we talk as though the pursuit of cultural aims, such as art, music, literature, and the drama, were the only proper ones for leisure time. That they constitute a valuable use of leisure time for those who are capable of their pursuit there can be no question. There is as little doubt that more should be done by the school to foster an understanding of music, drama, and the arts, and a love for them than is done at present. . . . In discussing the group of children of somewhat inferior mental level, we must not lose sight of the fact that many of them will prove to be exceedingly limited in their aesthetic capacity as well as in their intellectual status. It is absurd to suppose that the majority of them could be led to devote the hours not employed in wage-earning to music, art, or literature, though doubtless some of them could. These same children, however, are capable of many simpler types of productive occupations, provided they are taught. Cooking and sewing for the girls, even though they have no immediate wage-earning value, are of great value as occupational resources. There is but a limited demand for dressmakers in the modern world, but there is an unlimited possibility for young women who wish to do so to make their own clothes in their leisure time. For the boys, gardening, wood-working, simple electrical work, and some kinds of metal work offer similar resources. Up to this time the occupations which we have just been discussing have been taught in the schools under the head of vocational training and with the idea that the children could use them for wage-

earning. Now we are becoming convinced that there is little or no immediate wage-earning value in these disciplines. However, our conclusion is not that they should be taken out of the schools, but that they should be taught as personal resources for the children—in other words, as a part of general education rather than as part of vocational education.

The aim of the school should be to teach each child some type of productive work suited to his capacities and interests, and furthermore, to teach him how to conduct it individually as a personal enterprise. In short, the variety of occupations taught in the schools, from this point of view, should be increased and not decreased. The foes of vocational education who wish to exclude all types of training for manual work from the schools and reduce the curriculum to the traditional academic disciplines can gain small comfort from this point of view. If everything that we now class as vocational training or domestic science or art in the schools were excluded tomorrow, on the ground that it had no further wage-earning value, we should find ourselves compelled to put it back again the next day, enlarged and developed, because it has a very high value as training for life. . . .

The task of the school with regard to the inferior children seems, then, to be this. We must look forward to preparing many children to earn a living at a process which has only remote interest and value, and make it possible for them to do so without injuring them by giving them genuine resources which will lend zest, interest, and vitality to the hours not occupied by the drudgery of earning a living. . . ."

